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BOMBAY BRANCH

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To

HIS HIGHNESS

Maharajah Madhav Rao Saheb Scindia,

ALIJAH BAHADUR G. C. S. I., G. C. V. O.,

THE RULER OF THE GWALIOR STATE

AND

HIS HIGHNESS

Maharajah Tukoji Rao Saheb Holkar,

RAJ-RAJESHWAR BAHADUR,

THE RULER OF THE INDORE STATE.

THIS BOOK

IS

DEDICATED AS A TOKEN OF PROFOUND

ESTEEM AND GRATITUDE

BY

THEIR HUMBLE-SERVANT & WELL-WISHER

M. W. BURWAY,

The Author.

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PREFACE.

I intended to write a Life of Sir Dinkar Rao K. C. S. I. in 1894 and had even waited upon that eminent statesman at Allahabad with that object in view. But other occupations interrupted that intention which consequently never went beyond the stage of collecting materials for that life. In my "History of the House of Scindia," a work which engaged my time and energy at that time, I found a very suitable opportunity to say a good deal about Dinkar Rao's administrative ability and his sound work in Gwalior. To me this subject was more or less familiar, having heard much about the statesman from my earlier years when I had been in the Gwalior state with my father.

"The History of Gwalior" was completed in 1897 and several eminent persons like Colonel Martelli, Mr. A. M. T. Jackson and others spoke of the work well and in such a manner as to encourage the writer. But the work has grown to an enormous size, and eminent Nati

scholars advised me to change the name of the book and callit a short History of the Mahrattas. Such a change naturally entailed a greater responsibility and labour, for a small History only of the Mahrattas, must contain a great deal more than even a large History of a single link, the Gwalior state, of the great chain of the Mahratta Empire. These considerations, while raising my ambition to some extent, served to induce me to defer the publication of the work for a few years, during which, perchance, the undertaking may, if it please God, be successfully completed. The 'History of Gwalior", is now quite ready in the manuscript form, containing about one thousand pages. Illness, however, prevents me from publishing it for a year at least.

"Sir Dinkar Rao's Life" was again undertaken and nearly more than half was completed in the autumn of 1899. After coming to the end of the work, I had a desire to connect it with the name of my father, Waman Rao Patya Burway, some time Sir Soobha of Malwa and well known throughout the Gwalior dominions as one of the ablest and most high-minded officials of the Scindia's Durbar. It was this circumstance, as well as a sense of filial duty and affection, which led me to desire

to dedicate the work to the distinguished Sir Soobha, who, in ability and high-mindedness, ranks high in Gwalior's illustrious roll of able and eminent administrators during the latter half of the last century,—Sir Dinkar Rao being the 1st, Sir M. Filose the 2nd, Ram Rao Baji the 3rd, and Waman Rao Tatya Burway the 4th. This desire was not indeed in any way improper, for such illustrious personages as Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia and Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar had spoken in the highest terms about the Sir Soobha's administrative ability and high character. In a grand Durbar at Mandisore in 1882, Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar, the ablest of all the Princes of his time, spoke thus : " Wamanrao," said H. H., " was a most precious jewel in the court of Maharajah Scindia." H. H. had thrice invited my father to the Indore Durbar, but neither Maharajah Jayaji Rao nor Raja Sir Ganpat Rao Khadkay were prepared to accede to the proposal.

Ever since his retirement from service, my father had more or less ceased to take any active part in politics. He devoted most of his time to the study of the Vedant Philosophy, on which for the last forty years he had bestowed his best thought and attention. So

he did not approve of my intention to dedicate to him the work and advised me to dedicate it to some prominent politician of the day, saying at the same time that he would prefer his name to be connected with a philosophical rather than with a purely biographical work. He, however, made many valuable suggestions as to the manner in which the 'Life' should be written. Having had the opportunity of closely studying the career of Sir Dinkar Rao, for whom he had much admiration, he enlightened me on many points during the course of the short leisures which he devoted to worldly affairs, and I take this opportunity of gratefully and sincerely acknowledging that help and information, without which I could never have been able to do what little I have done in this matter. If there is anything in the present work worthy of note I must frankly say, the credit of it is entirely due to him, while I alone am responsible for the defects and errors that may have crept into the book, which has undoubtedly been written under many disadvantages. I entertain sanguine hopes that some able English or Native scholar will undertake to improve on this work in the near future, for the Life and career of Sir

Dinkar Rao is full of interest and instruction to Englishmen as well as to Natives. The present work, I humbly hope, may at least be of some service to the future scholar who might undertake to give his time and attention to such a subject.

I have always entertained a warm admiration alike for the moral and political grandeur of Sir Dinkar Rao's Life and career, and this circumstance has led me to present to the public this short account of the statesman's career. In 1894, much valuable information about Maharajah Jayaji Rao's and Sir Dinkar Rao's policy regarding the Mutiny was collected by me from persons living at Agra, Gwalior, Allahabad and Cawnpore, where there are still old Native gentlemen to whom the Mutiny is just like an occurrence of yesterday and who have a vivid recollection of all that then took place. To these men, the career of Dinkar Rao is perfectly known, as some of them have served under him.

Before concluding this preface I once more express most cordially my feelings of gratitude to my late beloved father,* Waman Rao Tatya

* Maharajah Ramsing of Jeypore had a high opinion about my father. Sir Richard Meade, Sir Henry Daly, Sir John Watson, Sir Montague Gerard and other eminent Political

Burway, who, in spite of his firm resolution not to meddle seriously with any political or worldly matters during his well-earned retirement, was kind enough to readily supply valuable information to me as well as to put before me a vivid and comprehensive view of the times when Sir Dinkar Rao was still in harness and busily engaged in his career of reform and retrenchment in Maharajah Scindia's dominions in Central India.

I take this opportunity of thanking those gentlemen who have taken an interest in the publication of this work. To the Hon'ble Mr. C. S. Bayley, Mr. B. P. Standen, C. I. E., Rai Bahadur Munshi Nanak Chand, C. I. E., Mr. H. J. Hoare, I. C. S., The Hon'ble Mr. O. V.

Officers have spoken in the highest terms officially about his administrative ability. My father wielded great influence in several other states in Central India and had intimate friends like Rai Bahadur Munshi Umedsing of Indore, Huzrut Nurkhan, C. S. I. of Jaora, the famous brothers Pandit Sarup Narayan C. S. I. and Pandit Dharam Narayan, C. I. E., Munshi Shahamat Ali, C. S. I. of Ratlam, and many others. The Bombay Government had consulted my father's opinion on the Khoti Bill in 1899 and he gave it in an elaborate Note which was admired by Native and European gentlemen like the Hon'ble Mr. D. A. Khare as well as the Hon'ble Mr. J. Nugent, Senior Member of Council, who asked my father to accept a seat in the Bombay Legislative Council. But in his old age, my father's inclinations lay in the direction of the study of Vedant and the service of the Supreme Being, and consequently he declined the kind offer with thanks.

Bosanquet, I. C. S., and Captain Luard, M. A., my best thanks are due for their reading the work in its manuscript form and making some useful suggestions. My special thanks are due to my friend Mr. Anant Ganesh Sathaye, M. A. L L. B., High Court Pleader, Bombay, under whose supervision the work has gone through the press and but for whose kindness in readily consenting to look after the printing of it, the "Life" would not have seen the light of the day. I have also to heartily thank my dear brother, Mr. Ganpat Rao Waman Burway, for his valuable help in this work.

I have borrowed several extracts from The Hon'ble Major Daly's "Memoirs of General Sir Henry Daly, G. C. B., C. I. E.," and I gratefully acknowledge the help that I have received from that work.

In conclusion, in the old Hindu style, I offer my sincere prayers to the Almighty God for giving me strength and energy to write this "Life" of a statesman, whose saintly purity and political grandeur extort admiration.

INDORE,
26 *July* 1907.

M. W. BURWAY.

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INTRODUCTION.

Maharashtra is the ancient home of the Mahratta Brahmins. The Mahratta Brahmin is known, from all known historical times, to be a keenly intelligent and sensible man, though intelligence and sense have been more or less the characteristic features of all Brahmins in all parts of India. These qualities are the heirloom of the Brahmins from times immemorial and here we may invite the well-known "Law of Heredity" to explain these distinctive features which an average Brahmin possesses in one way or the other. The Mahratta Brahmins are divided into different sections and all of them have distinguished themselves, more or less, under Shivaji and Baji Rao I, the greatest names in Mahratta History and the other Mahratta Kings or Sovereigns who succeeded them.

Such illustrious British officers and Statesmen as the Duke of Wellington, Sir John Malcolm, Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone, Sir Richard Temple and Captain Grant Duff have borne an ungrudging testimony to the intelligence and good sense of the Mahratta Brahmins. While these pages were being written,

a noteworthy event took place, which went to shed a considerable lustre on the Mahratta intellect. Mr. R. P. Paranjpe came out Senior Wrangler in the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos of 1899, and His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, with a grecious promptitude, condescended to send the following telegram to the Principal of the Fergusson College, where Mr. Paranjpe studied, expressing his joy and satisfaction at this memorable success of an Indian Student :—"The Viceroy desires to congratulate you, as Principal of the Fergusson College, upon the brilliant success attained by a former pupil of the College in carrying off the blue Ribbon of English Scholarship. Such a triumph is a wonderful tribute both to the teaching of the College and to the capabilities of the most highly trained Indian intellect." This Viceregal testimony to the intellectual triumph of one of the Mahratta Brahmins is especially worthy of being remembered, for we find that the majority of the greatest men in India have belonged to this commuuity.

Sir Dinkar Rao's family belongs to that part of Maharshtra which lies between the Western Ghauts and the Sea, and extends along the coast from Sadashivgarh to the Taptee. This

part of Maharashtra is known as the Konkan or the Parashram Kshetra, and is now included in the two Districts, Ratnagiri and Alibag. The Konkan is an uneven country, mostly sterile, and interspersed with huge mountains and jungles. The soil is rocky in some parts, though human labour has fertilised the lands. The people, who reside in these parts, are generally very poor, though these disadvantages are made up, by the grace of Providence, by the enviable possession of superior intellect and a robust physique. It is worthy of note that Capt. Grant Duff, the famous author of the Mahratta History, has in an emphatic manner expressed his opinion about the Brahmins of the konkan. "Of all the Brahmins with whom I am acquainted, the Konkan Brahmins are the most sensible and intelligent." This opinion is corroborated by many an eminent British Officer of the past as well as of the present times. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy, the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, said, in a speech at a special meeting of the Bombay Graduates held for the purpose of congratulating Mr. R. P. Paranjpe, "There never has been any question as to an Indian being perfectly equal to an Englishman in intellect...Indeed to take one

out of many instances, I should say that a Konkan Brahmin in acuteness of intellect is superior to the average Englishman." Thus it will be seen that the Brahmins of this part of Maharashtra, combining a superior intellect with a strong body, have played an important part not only in the past history of the world, but in present times also. Even during the benign rule of Britain in India, these Brahmins have influenced the course of events in an eminent degree. In our own days Statesmen and Scholars like Mandlik, Ranade, Tilak and many others have left ineffaceable footprints on the sands of time. Before the conclusion of this paragraph, we place before our readers one more important testimony to the qualities of head of the Mahratta Brahmin of the Konkan. Dr. J. Pollen, L. L. D. I. C. S., a well-known personage in the Bombay Presidency, observed at a meeting held to express the national grief felt at the death of the Hon'ble Mr. Mandlik C. S. I. "Mr. Mandlik had inherited the birth-right of Ratnagiri, an Attic intellect, for Ratnagiri might be described as the "Attica of India," and the Ratnagiri Brahmin in clear-headedness and business-capacity was second to no race in India."

So far we have placed before our readers a

short account of the Mahratta Brahmins in general and of the Mahratta Brahmin of Konkan (Ratnagiri) in particular. This account will enable our readers to fully understand the career of the hero of this narrative, who may be described as the greatest Konkan Brahmin of the mutiny period of the Indian history—one who enjoyed the proud privilege of being called one of the saviours of the British Indian Empire in 1857.*

The ancestors of Sir Dinkar Rao lived in a village called Devarukh in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency.† Of this village Vishvanath Hari was the Khot or Zamindar. Vishvanath had three sons, Hari, Ramchandra and Bhaskar. Bhaskarpant's son Timaji was favoured by the fates and so found opportunities to make a fortune as well as a name for himself and his family. That was

* These observations have been made to do historical justice to the services rendered by the Konkan Brahmins to the Indian Nation during the past as well as in the present times. The author is, in no way, an advocate of caste prejudices. As an humble Vedantist the author has no love for caste exclusiveness. It would be unjust not to appreciate the services rendered by the Konkon Brahmins to the Mahratta Empire during the regimes of the Peshwas as well as to the British Empire and the Indian Nation at large.

† They are also called as Rajwadkars as they lived in ancient times in Rajwadi.

exactly the time when several Brahmins and Mahratta families rose to greatness and distinction. About the year 1745 Timaji found an entrance into the arena of Politics at Satara, the capital of the Mahratta Empire and the seat and centre of all the political transactions which have influenced to a degree the pages of the Indian History. Any one with a good head and an intrepid heart had the chance of distinguishing himself in the innumerable walks of life that lay before the Mahrattas of those days. Bravery and intellect found a free scope for their unstinted exercise. Timaji was a capable man and knew well to win over the hearts of the courtiers by a ready discharge of duties and an amiable personal behaviour. Step by step he rose in the estimation of his superiors and attracted the attention of the Chatrapati, the King of the Mahrattas. The royal favour ensured by an honest and energetic performance of duties, secured for Timaji considerable advantages, pecuniary as well as official. Thus this family emerged out of comparative obscurity. Success followed success and at last the family attained a place in the official circle of the Mahratta Empire. Of Timajipant Rajwade's sons, Ramrao and Balvantrao, the former followed in the footsteps

of his worthy father and performed the state functions assigned to him with credit. Ram Rao had four sons and of these the eldest Dinkar Rao succeeded his father in the hereditary office of Rajwade. Before closing his earthly career which was attended with considerable success, Dinkar Rao had the satisfaction of seeing his two sons, Balwantrao and Raghunathrao, undertaking their respective duties with credit to themselves. During the career of these two officers, the Mahratta Empire fell to pieces. Baji Rao abdicated his throne and preferred a peaceful residence on the banks of the Ganges with an annual pension of £ 80,000, from the British treasury. The Peshwa's Sardars with the Peshwa's officers had to shift for themselves in these times of chaos and confusion. Balwantrao followed Bajirao Peshwa to Bithoor and shortly afterwards died there. Raghopant, the father of the subject of this narrative, was thus put to innumerable straits and difficulties, an escape from which was not easy. In such an unwelcome situation, he thought of mending his fortune by resorting to a curious expedient. He did what many other Hindus, beset with earthly difficulties, have generally done. We find the illustrious Nana Furnavis doing the same when

he was surrounded on all sides by rivals and competitors for power in 1792, when Mahadji Scindia hankered after the Premiership of the Mahratta Empire by courting the favour of the Peshwa Sewai Madhav Rao. Raghopant did a similar thing now in order to avoid the cares and anxieties of life. He resolved to go on a pilgrimage to Benares and end his days in peace and prayers in that holy city, the gateway of Heaven in the eyes of all pious Hindus of the old school.

Happily Providence gave Raghopant the benefit of a substantial help through an unexpected friend, whom he came across while at Poona. Through the intercession of this friend named Yamaji Narayen Potnis, he succeeded in being brought to the notice of the famous Sardar Vinchoorkar, who had achieved a brilliant success in Hindustan and had been honoured with the title of Umdetul-mulk. The Vinchoorkar Sardar had a Jahagir in the Gwalior Dominions and there were other disputes of a quasi-political nature. The influence of this Sardar with the Bombay Government was also great and thus a new opening was secured for the latent energy of Raghopant. Sardar Vinchoorkar asked Raghopant Rajwade to settle the disputes

regarding his Jahagir in Hindustan and sent him to Gwalior as his Agent, furnishing him with letters of introduction to the Political officer at the Court of Scindia and other authorities. Thus Raghopant's anxieties were somewhat quieted and his heart's desire to bathe in the holy Ganges was also greatly on the way of being gratified, for Gwalior was comparatively speaking not far away from Benares.

At Gwalior Raghopant's sagacity and experience of worldly matters stood him in good stead. The Potnis was his friend and as they both were connected with the transactions of affairs of a somewhat important nature, they had access to the more powerful of the courtiers and gradually became more intimate with them. After alternate hope and despair, Raghopant Rajwade's fortune seemed to favour him. The darkness of despair which had enveloped his mind and seemed for some time to have utterly unnerved him, slowly passed away owing to the genial rise of full fresh hopes, which began to dangle before his vision on seeing that the field at the Scindia's capital was more or less clear of strong competitors and was favourable for his rise to power and influence. Gwalior of

Bayabai's times was a hotbed of intrigues and plots and able men had no reason to be downcast during such times of political transactions and revolutions.

Raghopant's 'Attic' intellect and capacity for business–two qualities which were his birth-right–combined with his amiable and innocent disposition, made him many friends without stirring up the jealousy of anyone. Formerly in Native States success generally depended on two circumstances-an able man with genuine innocence, humility and patience generally came to the front; but an unscrupulous man with energy rose almost invariably to the top of the service. These were of course general occurrences, though the possibility of the rise of an honest man with good luck could not entirely be precluded. Such cases however as Sir Dinkar Rao's rise may be treated as exceptions. It seems that Raghopant was a man of the former type and on an exhaustive examination of all circumstances, we would find that his son stands in the category of exceptions to the rule. All these remarks apply of course to the times when the Native States were more or less in utter darkness during the transitional period in Indian History, when the Peshwa's empire had fallen

and the British empire was rising. The period intervening between these two supremely important events, was a period full of heart-rending scenes and chaotic confusions.* With this we have little to do beyond a mere mention of it.

Raghopant, as we shall see in the next chapter, began with the Soobhaship of Sopur and ended with that of Ambah, thus preparing the ground for his illustrious son and successor not only in the country of Tuar Thakores but in the whole of the state of H. H. Jeyaji Rao Maharajah Scindia, Alijah Bahadur.

* It was a period of national prostration.

Chapter I.

Dinkar Rao was born at Dewrukha on the 20th of December 1819, in the year that witnessed the birth of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and the final establishment of the Peshwa, Bajirao II at Bithor. His birth thus synchronised with two of the most important events of which his own career was ordained by fate to be one. On account of the anarchy and chaos preceding the abdication of the Peshwa his family along with many others was reduced to straitened circumstances and consequently his education could not be much attended to. But what scholastic education can equal that which is imparted to a mastermind by adversity, the great teacher of man-kind? He made up the lack of regular training by that valuable acquisition of a practical knowledge of the world and its affairs, which only a few of his contemporaries possessed. After Raghoba's entrance into the Gwalior service, he brought his family from the Dekkan. Young Dinkar Rao was then but eight years old. Here Dinkar Rao picked up a little knowledge of Persian

and finance along with Marathi. At fifteen his career as a student terminated and he embarked on his official career.

Dinkar Rao entered the service of Maharaj Scindia at the age of sixteen under the auspices of Bhausaheb Potnis. As Secretary to this influential officer of the Scindia's Court, the young man had many opportunities of measuring the power of the different parties in the state and of acquiring an intimate acquaintance with the state affairs. Being an extra ordinarily shrewd and intelligent youth, he became well-versed in his work in a short time and gave complete satisfaction to his chief. The systematic and continued good work of the young secretary frequently extorted marks of admiration from the Potnis, who began to entertain a greater regard for Dinkar Rao than even for his more sagacious and experienced father Raghunath Rao. A story is told illustrating this incident. Raghunath Rao had heard, that his son stood in the good books of the Potnis and it was a source of secret exultation to him. But aware of the proud spirit of his son, the old gentleman once requested the Potnis to forgive any error or omissions his son might commit. The Potnis however replied that Raghunath Rao had no reason to be in

any way solicitous about his son's conduct, which the Potnis thought to be entirely satisfactory.

In this position Dinkar Rao continued to remain for a long time. Day by day his ability in the discharge of his official duties attracted the attention of the other members of the Gwalior Durbar and this circumstance stood him in good stead afterwards. While the young man was rising in the good opinion of the Gwalior Court, his father's health was shattering slowly at Ambha, where he was a Subha. It was generally believed that the old gentleman would not live long and calculations were already rife to the effect that in that difficult position at Tawarghar the able son of the sagacious father would cut a far better figure.

Tawarghar was then a very troublesome district and so it is even now to some extent. The Tonwar Thakurs, after whom the district is named, were a very refractory people, and frequently defied the authority of the Gwalior Government. Government assessment they never paid regularly and all other semblance of power was systematically set at nought by these lawless men. A strong man was needed to exact obedience from them and to compel

them to respect law and authority. In Raghunath Rao the Gwalior Government had an officer of the required type and under his energetic but conciliatory rule the Tonwar Thakurs were brought to their senses and were taught to live as peaceful and law-abiding subjects of the State. This circumstance had gone a great way to add to Raghunath Rao's reputation as a capable officer of great force of character and determination of will. The settlement of the district of Tawarghar the land of the Tonwar Thakurs, brought the officer's name to the favourable notice of the Gwalior Durbar. The collection of the Government assessment, which was generally done with the aid of bayonets and sometimes even of cannon, became a more easy task under this officer's firm rule.

These exertions, however, told heavily on Raghoba Dada's health and he gradually sank under the pressure of his onerous duties. Seeing that his end was nearing, he sent for his dutiful son. The young man, on receiving the message from his father, asked his chief's permission and left Gwalior for Ambah. The father was already on his death-bed and the son, dutiful to the core, spared no pains to make the death of his

father as peaceful as it lay in human power to do. Being of a very pious and religious disposition, Raghoba expressed his heart's wish to repair to a holy place on the banks of the Jamna and there fall into the sleep that knows no waking. Dinkar Rao readily complied with that righteous desire and took him to Bateshwar on the Jamna, a place famous for the cattle and horse fair that is held there every year in honour of the God Shiva.

Raghoba peacefully expired there (Bateswar) where a temple dedicated to his memory was built by Dinkar Rao and a suitable provision for the attendant expenses of the shrine was also made.

As secretary to the Potnis, Dinkar Rao had been able to obtain a close insight into the state-affairs and had learnt well to decipher the mystic signs of coming events from the prevailing state of the political atmosphere. These qualities did him, as we shall see later on, a great amount of substantial service. After the death of his able father, the abler son found a better scope for the latent energies of which he possessed a more than ordinary amount.

We have already cursorily referred to Dinkar Rao's having made a good name for himself in the political circle in Gwalior. Pot-

nis, his chief, was his enthusiastic patron, and his help was willingly given for the elevation of his promising subordinate to the post vacated by Raghoba's death, which had already mooted the question about the appointment of some one to the vacancy. Raghoba's services in the settlement of the Amba District went a long way in ensuring the success of his son and in securing the sympathy of the influential courtiers in his selection to the vacant Subhaship, the dangers of which post were not at all unknown to the young officer.

After being confirmed in the Subhat of Amba, this energetic officer, equal to the responsibilities of the task, set to do his best in ameliorating still more the deplorable condition of the district, the path of the improvement of which was already paved by his sagacious father. During the days of his probationership, Dinkar Rao had taken advantage of every leisure hour by getting a sound knowledge of administrative details, and had even gone the length of writing a small treatise connected with the conduct of state-affairs. A story is frequently told regarding this incident in the life of this rising man. We give it here as it fully illustrates his views and methods of work and his soaring ambition. Sir

Richmond Shakespeare, whom duties frequently called to the North-East districts of Gwalior namely Gigni, Amba and others, happened to be at Amba when Dinkar Rao had completed his book "Dastur-Ulumal," which contains among other things rules and regulations for the guidance of officers in the administration of the districts. Dinker Rao showed the book to Major Shakespeare who was a great appreciator of merits and a thoroughly kind-hearted and sympathetic officer. He was highly gratified with the contents of the book. Then ensued a great discussion between them about the way in which the Law Code was prepared as well as the manner in which it could be introduced in the dominions of Maharajah Scindia. We place the conversation in the form of a dialogue.

Sir. R.—Whence have you collected the materials for your law-code?

Dinkar Rao—From the Revenue and judicial codes of the Bombay Government as well as from the native authorities on this subject.

Sir. R.—Do you approve of the Govt. codes?

Dinkar Rao—I have taken only that portion out of it which suits the wants of the state.

Sir. R.— Do you think it would be possible to introduce a systematic Government in the Gwalior territories at this time?

Dinkar Rao—Why not? It is always possible to do such a thing if there be strength and determination of will.

Sir. R.—Will you be able to do it in Gwalior?

Dinkar Rao—What can puny man do? Perchance, the Almighty may have it done by my hands, if it please Him.

We have given here only a translation of the conversation which was carried on in Urdu between the Resident and Subha Dinkar Rao. In the last sentence lies the key-note of the puzzling question as to how and why Dinkar Rao was raised to such an eminent position at such an early age and in such times when big men alone were successful in obtaining the Gwalior Premier-ship. During the troublous period, 1800–1852, it was not always possible for mere ability and integrity to rise and come to the front in the arena of native politics. We have no hesitation in saying that Dinkar Rao was then the ablest man in Gwlior as well

as that he had the rare good luck of having the opportunities of showing his abilities to such sympathetic officers of the type of Shakespeare and Malcolm who were always ready and eager to appreciate native talent and merits wherever they came across them and whose names are still remembered with genuine gratitude by many a man in Central India.

Chapter II.

In the times of which we are speaking, able and working men were conspicuous by their absence in Gwalior. The administration was carried on in a way of which the less said the better. The British political officers, who came to the court of Maharaj Scindia, were disgusted at having to work with a succession of men of no high moral calibre. Dinkar Rao was a relief to the tedious monotony of the scene. His worth became known to Shakespeare and Malcolm. Major Shakespeare was now promoted to the A. G. G. ship at Indore and Major Malcolm had succeeded him at Gwalior. Before relinquishing the charge of the Gwalior Residency the Major had left on record his highest opinion regarding Dinkar Rao's honesty and ability and the sound work he had done in Tawarghar. During Colonel Malcolm's incumbency he had also the opportunity of visiting the north-east districts as the trunk road to Agra passed through them. The refractory spirit of the Amba Thakurs and their occasional defiance of authority also

necessitated the Resident's presence on the scene of action. The Colonel was equally impressed with the upright and energetic conduct of Dinkar Rao in the discharge of his difficult duties in the land of Tour Thakurs.

The most difficult problem that lies before the reader of Dinkar Rao's life for solution is the elevation of this officer from the Subhaship of Amba to the Premier-ship of Gwalior, one of the most powerful states in India. While on the one hand the ability, integrity and assiduity of Dinkar Rao created a favourable impression about him in the minds of Sir Richmond Shakespeare and Colonel Malcolm, on the other, a chaos and confusion, which had been prevailing in the Gwalior administration since a long time and which had now assumed a most serious and chronic form, served a great deal to persuade the British Government to put at the head of the administration an officer of the state fully honest and familiar with the administrative work rather than a big sardar sufficiently powerful to do mischief and so sufficiently disqualified for the position. The appointment of a powerful Sardar to the Ministership always gave rise to a feeling of party spirit, for there were several powerful noblemen in the

state and the preference of one of them to be placed at the helm of the state frequently enraged and occasionally estranged the rest. The discontented noblemen formed intrigues and cabals and having vast resources at their command became ultimately dangerous to the peace and security of the state as well as of the neighbouring British Provinces. This was in fact the crux of this question. The development of this difficulty in the choice of the Minister grew stronger day by day and the rivalry between Mamasaheb and Dadasaheb Khasgiwale was the culminating point to which all the dangers referred to above had now reached.

A glance at the condition of affairs at the court of Gwalior would place before the reader a complexity of situation of which we have presented a sufficiently intelligible description but the political situation in Gwalior had been connected with past events as well as it had its origin in them. It is therefore necessary to dwell a little more on this topic, a close acquaintance with which would clear up one of the most difficult points in the career of the subject of this narrative.

The Durbar was convulsed by several radical and significant changes: changes which

produced a baneful effect on the aspect of existing as well as coming circumstances. The troubles were of such a far-reaching consequence and so little was the Durbar prepared to avoid them or obviate their recurrence that the British Political officer, accredited to the Gwalior Durbar, had to interfere in order to maintain order in the state as well as to ensure the peace and security of the British Provinces adjacent to Gwalior dominions. It may also be said in passing that the British Resident was, taking all circumstances into view, compelled to look for a good administrator beyond the stereotyped circle of the big nobles from whom some one, sufficiently powerful and related to the chief by ties of blood, generally succeeded in filling the post of the Premier. It was seldom that the chief administrative officer in the state possessed at least the minimum of ability or intelligence required for that important position. But when the Resident had to interfere in the internal administration of the state, he of course attached greater value to qualities other than those in the form of wealth, personal influence or kinship with the ruling chief. Sir Richmond and Colonel Malcolm, whose names are still enshrined in the memory of old gentlemen of

noble families in Central India, were exceedingly sympathetic, farsighted, kind-hearted and thoroughly aequainted with the condition of affairs in Gwalior, and had arrived, after mature consideration, at the conclusion that so long as power remained in the hands of incompetent and intriguing noblemen—whose vast resources considerably augmented their chances of doing harm to themselves, to the state, and to the subjects of Maharaj Scindia at large—it was in vain to expect a continued peace in Gwalior, much less a sound and flourishing administration. These British officers had, during their frequent tours in the districts, seen for themselves that the majority of the state-officers were, like some of their brethren at the capital, more or less of low moral calibre, and interested in maintaining disorder and anarchy, whereby they made their fortunes. But an opportunity had not arrived upto that time for the British Political Resident to interfere in these matters which were directly connected with the internal government of the state. Nor was it for a time only that the anarchy and misrule prevailed. Howsoever beneficial then the interference of the British Resident might have been, it was not deemed politic to take

strong measures for the removal of misrule in Gwalior until such a course might be imperatively necessitated by a peculiar concatenation of extraordinary circumstances.

This chaos and confusion in the civil administration of the state dated from the time when the great Mahadhao Rao Scindia breathed his last at Wanawari in 1794 in the plenitude of his power and influence. Daolat Rao Scindia attempted to make a parade of his ability and military power, but in vain. He was after all a weak and incompetent Prince guided by low favourites. From such a Prince neither the civil administration of the state nor the military aggrandisement of the house of Scindia was expected to receive any attention or improvement. Maharaja Jankoji Rao, though kind-hearted and sensible, was a child and his infantile intellect scarcely was fitted for confronting the mighty task of introducing radical reforms in the various branches of the administration. The great Jayaji Rao Maharajah, the ablest prince of all those who succeeded Mahadji Scindia, was only a minor of tender age. So during his child-hood nothing that tended to ameliorate the condition of the rayat or the tenor of Government, was likely to happen. In this

way there was a chronic mis-rule eating into the heart of the State and the other concomitant evils, which are already briefly alluded to, were not wanting to bring the Raj to the verge of ruin and helplessness.

Before proceeding further, we must place before our readers a summary account of the disturbances which occurred in Gwalior prior to Dinkar Rao's assumption of office. Thereby the reader will have a clear knowledge of the important and interesting transactions during the years 1843-1852 :—

*The internal administration of Gwalior was more or less persistently neglected after the death of the great Mahadji Scindia. Daolat Rao, Mahadji's successor, was, as has been just said, an incapable ruler and fitted as little for improving the administration of the state as for controlling the unmanageably large forces of Scindia, which were in such efficient condition under the personal supervision of the great Mahadji Scindia, to whom Gwalior owed its military greatness which suffered no abatement, despite the incompetency of his successors, till the memorable

* The following account about these important transactions is taken from the "History of Gwalior" written by the author of these pages.

year 1843, the year in which the battles of Panhyar and Maharajapor were fought. The terrible defeats which the Gwalior army had to suffer from the English in the great battles of Assaye, Laswari and Argam, had well-nigh destroyed Scindia's military greatness, but still there was sufficient vitality in the Scindia's kingdom to withstand such disasters. The army of Scindia was still a great power, though it was now without a proper control and hence more dangerous to the state which maintained it than to its rivals. What little spark of ability Daolat Rao possessed was just barely sufficient to keep his forces in a state of apparent discipline and order, though beyond this nothing could be expected from such a ruler of ostensibly weak moral calibre.

In the reign of his successor Jankoji Rao, the army grew more dangerous to the peace and sound administration of Scindia's dominions. Jankoji Rao was a minor and to him there is no blame from the transactions that followed. Baizabai caused a great deal of trouble but through the British intervention the storm was at last quelled. The rival parties were eagerly looking for an opportunity to rush at one another's throats for getting power into their own hands.

This chief's short reign terminated on the 7th of February 1843. The great Jayaji Rao Maharajah, the greatest and the best of all those who came to the Gadi after the demise of Mahadji, ascended the throne at the age of nine only. During Jayaji Rao Maharajah's reign—a reign which was uninterruptedly beneficial to the rayat and in which the reforms of Dinkar Rao placed the administration on a sound basis—the feuds between the rival parties culminated into open hostilities and bloodshed, and whatever semblance of order had still remained was almost uprooted. From 1842 to 1852, the History of Gwalior is full of the intrigues and feuds between the rival parties and the disappointment of the British Political Resident in restoring peace and good administration in the vast dominions of the Maharajah Scindia during the minority of this Prince. Krishna Rao Kadum, ordinarily known as Mama Saheb on account of his being the Maternal Uncle of the late Maharajah, was appointed Prime Minister of the Gwalior State. He took the prudent step of marrying his daughter to Jayaji Rao Maharajah and thus his influence was considerably augmented, though this fresh accession to power and influence ultimately led to the fall of Mama Saheb.

At this time there were two principal parties in the state. One of them was headed by Mama Saheb and the other was under the auspices of the famous Dada Saheb Khasgiwale in whom the Mama Saheb found a Tartar.

Dada Khasgiwale was carrying on deep-laid intrigues through several important personages, one of whom was Narengibai, the confidential maid-servant of Tarabai and one who greatly swayed the deliberations of her august mistress. Through Narengibai, Dada Kasgiwale gained the object of his heart. He poisoned Tarabai's ears by various rumours about Mama Saheb, telling her at the same time that as the Mama was the father-in-law of the present ruler, Jayaji Rao, there was a certain danger to her position from his obtaining supreme power in the state. This was indeed a master-piece of contrivance for ousting the Mama from power and eventually it was crowned with splendid success. Tarabai came to a proper understanding of the danger to her power and deprived Mama of the office of Dewan of the state. She did not stop here. An order was issued immediately to the effect that Mama Saheb should withdraw from the Gwalior territories which he at last did in utter fright. He went to Seronj and ended his days there

in the hospitality of the great Pindari chief of Tonk in whose territory Seronj is situated.*

These sudden and important changes in the administration were communicated to the Governor-General by the British Resident at Gwalior, who was helpless in any way to prevent them or to obviate their recurrence. But the only reply which His Excellency sent to the Resident is worthy of study. "Any form of administering the state affairs" said his Lordship "which may effect the object of securing the frontier tranquillity will be satisfactory." Thus the Resident was foiled in his attempt to reinstate Mama Saheb in power. The Dada Saheb reigned supreme for sometime, though the atmosphere was again full of rumours about impending danger to Dada Khasgiwale's power. Dada Khasgiwale was imprudent and rash. He unnecessarily excited the jealousy of some of the powerful Sardars. His position became full of danger. But he was an arch-intriguer and a man of considerable resources. He secured the sympathy of the army, which was ready to profit by these internal dissensions. Preparations began on

* The founder of the Tonk and Jaora states were servants of H. H. Maharajah Holkar of Indore and were ever faithful to their Mahratta master.

both the sides for settling the feuds by an open appeal to arms. The British Resident, aware of the magnitude of the danger in case of an outbreak of civil war, wrote to the Governor-General of all those dark movements carried on by Khasgiwale and his foes. The danger was really a serious one, as will be seen later on and the Governor-General saw no way out of it except by a personal visit to the Capital of Scindia's Kingdom. Lord Ellenborough followed a master-piece of policy in desiring to settle amicably the Gwalior affairs. His advance towards Gwalior was indeed with a noble purpose, though unpleasant occurrences did take place notwithstanding these precautions.

The Governor-General in pursuance of his resolution, tried to open a negotiation with the Gwalior Darbar with the view of introducing an efficient administration into this important state, and bringing the unmanageable army under a proper control. For this purpose His Lordship left Calcutta and intimated to the Gwalior Durbar his intention of having a personal interview with the ruler of the state as well as the Queen-Regent, so that everything may be settled in a satisfactory manner. He also wrote to the Durbar that

"The British Government could not permit the friendly relations which had existed for forty years with the House of Scindia to be interrupted." His Excellency had also informed the Durbar that the British forces would have to advance in the direction of Gwalior, until the establishment of complete order within the confines of the state had been effected. Lord Ellenborough arrived at Hingona, a town between Dholepore and Gwalior, where it was agreed upon that an interview should take place between the Governor-General and Maharajah on the 26th of December 1843. Bapu Saheb Sitole, who was in attendance upon Lord Ellenborough as an envoy from the Gwalior state was formally acquainted with the object of the Governor-General in taking so much trouble as to travel all the distance from Calcutta to Hingona. According to the previous engagement, Tarabai and Maharaja Jayaji Rao made preparations for proceeding to the camp of "Lat Saheb"; but unfortunately the Durbarees, some of whom were very powerful, objected to the determination of the Ranee and Maharajah to see the Governor-General and made active preparations for defying the strength of the military force advancing

towards Gwalior. Meanwhile, the Gwalior envoy in attendance upon Lord Ellenborough suddenly and privately left the Governor-General's camp and secretly returned to Gwalior. These movements were sufficient to convince the Governor-General that some disturbance of peace must naturally take place, but still he entertained hopes that matters might be brought, at no distant date, to a peaceful conclusion, as the Maharajah and the Queen-Regent were believed to be innocent of all blame in the recent transactions, which, more or less, were the outcome of the intrigues of powerful and self-seeking sardars aided by the unmanageable Gwalior army.

The British Government then came to the conclusion that Dada Khasgiwale was at the root of all the present disburbances and dissensions in the dominions of Scindia and an obstinate enemy of all peaceful prospect for the great state. This was not, however, quite a correct estimate of the real state of affairs. It was rather an extremely strong view of the case, though it can never be denied that Khasgiwale had some share in the affair. In accordance with the view which the Resident, Colonel Spiers, entertained with regard to the implication of Dada Saheb in the intrigues

then prevailing in Gwalior, a letter was sent to the Ranee to send the Khasgiwale to Agra to wait upon the Governor-General. But the request could not be complied with, as the Court of Scindia had not yet thoroughly apprehended the extent of these dangerous proceedings. But the letter of the Governor-General, who had already passed through Agra on the 4th of December 1843, excited the greatest alarm at Gwalior and brought the Ranee to a proper consideration of the impending danger. No delay was now allowed to be made in securing the person of the Khasgiwale, who was, after a great deal of ado, forwarded to the Governor-General's camp. This step was considered to ensure the peace of Gwalior, but the uncontrollable army of Scindia baffled all the sanguine hopes of the Ranee and the Governor-General, proving thereby that the sole cause of the disturbance was not Khasgiwale alone. In fact both the Ranee and the Maharajah were quite helpless and unprepared to quiet the torrent of hostility which some of the powerful Sardars harboured towards the well-intentioned interference of the Governor-General. Lord Ellenborough then wrote to the new Resident, General (then Colonel) Sleeman, the author

of that charming work "Rambles and Recollections," to the effect that the advance of the British army to Gwalior was imperatively necessary for securing the peace of, and removing the chronic disorders in, the state. But the tidings of the approaching arrival of Sir Hugh Gaugh's brigade did not desist the intriguers from carrying on their work. Active preparations were begun for facing the British arms and the unmanageable army of Scindia, confident of a certain victory, thought very lightly of the coming calamity.

Lord Ellenborough somehow got timely intelligence of all these proceedings, whereupon he left Hingona and moved his camp to Maharajpoora. The Gwalior army, which was already quite infuriated and ready for battle, encamped on a site in the vicinity of the town. Here the British and the Gwalior armies met and a very obstinate engagement took place, in which the Gwalior army displayed great valour and covered themselves with glory, though it was to some extent unenviable, as the object with which they fought was not sanctified by a laudable purpose. They had succeeded in inflicting a heavy loss on the British forces, killing not less than 21 big officers during the action. But it appears there

was defection in the Gwalior army and consequently ultimate defeat was inevitable. It is generally believed that the Gwalior forces ran short of ammunition and sent urgent messages to the officer in charge of the Scindia's magazine to supply them with gunpowder and shot. But this officer, who was already a victim to the pecuniary temptation from the Gwalior party favourable to the English, sent coloured Bajari flour filled in bags which only looked like gunpowder. The Poorbhayas, who composed the greater part of the Gwalior army, were highly incensed at the treachery and faithlessness of the officer in charge of Scindia's magazine and determined to die with sword in hand on the battlefield. When the last cartridge was fired from the Scindia's artillery, they unsheathed their swords and rushed Afghan-like on the English army, careless of their lives and bent on drenching their deadly weapons in English blood. They succeeded in making a havoc in the ranks of the English army, when the English artillery destroyed the assailants to a man. This important and memorable battle took place on the 28th of December, 1843. The number of the killed and wounded on the Gwalior side amounted to three thousand, while the loss on the Eng-

lish side is computed at 997. Lord Ellenborough is said to have been present on the battlefield throughout the course of the engagement and to have "showed much humane attention to the wounded." On the same day, General Grey, who was at the head of a division of the British army, defeated another portion of the Gwalior forces at Panhyar, within twelve miles of Gwalior, which consisted of about 12,000 sepoys with 40 pieces of cannon. These two defeats, due to treachery and defection rather than to any other cause, quieted the wild spirit of the wire-pullers at Gwalior and paved the way for peace, reform and prosperity.

The interview between Lord Ellenborough and the Maharajah, delayed by these obstacles, came off on the 30th December 1843 when his Lordship informed the Maharajah of the noble decision of the British Government to keep the state in its integrity. Gwalior was, for the first time, subjected to the influence of the subsidiary system. A treaty was formally concluded on the 13th of January 1844. It was agreed upon, among other important things, that a council of Regency consisting of six members should be appointed to carry on the administration with the advice of the Resident in important mat-

ters: Sirdar Ramrao Phalkay as President; Sirdar Bhow Potnis, Udaji Khatkay, Deo Rao Mama Jadhav, Raja Balvant Rai, and Mulaji as Members.

Thus the danger was averted. The reader, however, can well imagine how sorely the civil administration must have suffered by these frequent political convulsions and the terrible appeals to arms for gaining power. When one reflects on such a state of things, one is compelled to say that this continued neglect of administration must have created misery and a lawlessness, which beggar all description. The evils, due to such a state, are too numerous to be narrated. Nor was the British Government blind to all these evils, freely rampant in the Gwalior Dominions. It is true the English cared for their interest, but they could not see with happiness the unnecessary misery of the people. The kind heart of Sir Richmond Shakespeare, who was as good a friend of the people as the illustrious Mr. Elphinstone of Poona, sickened to see misery around and everywhere. The strong prevailed over the weak. The peasantry were the greatest sufferers. The frequent movements of armies, the incessant quarrels, want of the redressing of their wrongs, insecurity of per-

son and property, forced impressment of labour, rack-renting, the plundering of their houses in broad day-light,—all these are but a trifling category of evils then prevailing. Sir Richmond happily desired to put a stop to this cursed state of things. He had fortunately found a man who had restored one whole destrict to peace and order and had introduced a fair administrative system there. The agent-Governor-General waited for an opportunity to put the administration of the whole state on a sound basis. Happily the hour and the man arrived at no distant date.

It will, therefore, be easy to understand from the foregoing paragraphs why and how Dinkar Rao, who was undoubtedly the ablest and most honest man of his time in Gwalior, became successful on account of the existence in the state of rival parties, who were every now and then ready to fly at each-other's throats, and thus proved the source of much unnecessary bloodshed and unmitigated suffering to the rayat at large. As we will see later on, Dinkar Rao destroyed the possibility of a recurrence of these open as well as subterranean dangers at the cost of great personal trouble and much unpopularity. It must, at the same time, he said, in justice to Sir Rich-

mond Shakespeare and Colonel Malcolm, that the support that they willingly gave to Dewan Dinkar Rao in his difficult position was greatly instrumental in enabling the well-meaning Dewan to lay the lines of a sound administrative system and to carry out in all its branches most beneficial reforms.

Chapter III.

The Council of Regency were dragging on a futile existence, when the last vestige of a vitality passed away in the person of Sardar Ram Rao Phalkay. Once more there was a reversion to the old and desecrable state of things. Deo Rao Mama Saheb succeeded Phalkay Saheb. A more incompetent man did not exist in the whole of the state of Maharaj Scindia. Deo Rao Mama did what was in fact wanted to fill the cup of misery and woes of the Gwalior subjects to the brim. He began by introducing a radical and violent change in the personnel of the council of Regency. The Rajah Balwantrai and Bhow Potnis, both men of good sense and considerable ability, were ousted from the council. Jadhav Saheb did not stop here. He ordered them to leave the Gwalior territory, so that they may not obstruct his misrule! He quarreled with the Maharani Tarabai Saheb and compelled Her Highness to repair to Shajapore on a subsistence allowance of three lakhs a year. Thus the Mama Saheb cleared the field

of all his foes. There was now no hindrance between him and absolute power. But alas! the fate ordained otherwise. While everything was being done for his wielding supreme power, Deo Rao Mama Saheb's health was shattering to pieces. He took to his bed from which he never rose alive.

Again there was a very intricate question before tho Durbar and the Resident accredited to the Court of Scindia. Colonel Malcolm was equal to the occasion. He had the courage of his conviction and was a man who could not but do everything to place the Gwalior administration in as good a condition as it lay in his power to do. The recurrence of the blood-shed and violence, which usually followed the death of a Prime Minister, was obviated with consummate tact and ability by colonel Malcolm. The consideration of a capable successor, who would introduce a good administrative system into the state, now claimed the attention of the Durbar and the Resident.

Before proceeding further we must recapitulate briefly what we have said so far, in as much as it would enable us to clearly understand why the hero of this narrative was chosen as a successor to the late Mama Saheb

Jadhav in preference to the big Sardars of the state :—

1. There was, more or less, anarchy in the civil administration, leading to evils mentioned above.
2. These evils were from time to time noticed by the successive British Political Residents at Sindia's Court.
3. That one of the districts in the Gwalior Dominions was brought to a better state of administration, in spite of severest difficulties, by Dinkar Rao, and enjoyed the boons of peace, security of person and property &c.
4. That Sir Richimond Shakespeare and Colonel Malcolm had, during their tours to this District, seen with their own eyes the remarkable contrast which the District presented in comparison with others.
5. That both these officers, who united official ability with a sincere regard and zeal for the welfare of the people committed to their care, had formed a very high opinion of Dinkar Rao's notions and views about administering as laid down in his Dastoor-ul-amal.

6. The military disturbances, revolts and the administrative anarchy was the outcome of the inordinate ambition and short sightedness of the noble men whose incompetency for administrative work was perfectly known to Sir Richmond and Colonel Malcolm.

Now from this it necessarily follows, just as a conclusion does from premises, that there were greater chances of Dinkar Rao's being called upon to undertake the duties of the Premier of the Scindia's dominions. Moreover, there was another circumstance, already cursorily mentioned, which was of great significance at this time. Sir Richmond was long ago raised to the post of A. G. G. for C. I. and had left a very high opinion on record about Dinkar Rao's enlightened and large-minded views, his honesty and administrative capacity of which there was a living proof in the District of Tawarghar. His successor at Gwalior, Colonel Malcolm, bore even a higher testimony to Dinkar Rao's ability. Consequently, there remained no doubt as to the choice of a capable Dewan.

A grand Durbar was held at Gwalior early in the spring of 1852. Prior to this, Dinkar Rao was summoned from Ambah by Colonel

Malcolm with the cordial approval of Sir Richmond Shakespeare. In the presence of all the Durbarees and Sirdars, Colonel Malcolm intimated to the assembly the determination of the British Government to appoint Dinkar Rao as Dewan of Gwalior. This declaration fell like a thunderbolt on the vacant-looking Durbarees, whose fright was far greater than their jealousy about the new Dewan. Thus Colonel Malcolm silently and skilfully effected this greatest and most salubrious change in the hitherto followed policy about the appointment of Ministers—a change which must be hailed with joy by all sensible men, interested in an orderly and peaceful administration, conferring upon the people at large the boons of a reign of law, security of person and property, freedom from violence and other evils too numerous to be detailed. Dewan Dinkar Rao, soon after the assumption of the high office, embarked upon the onerous task of introducing a systematic and happy civil administation into the state. It is needless to mention again that for such a task he was fully prepared long before his appointment to the exalted office, the dangers of which were then more worthy of a serious study for obvious reasons.

The following extract, which furnishes an instance as to how things are managed even in these days in the Turkish territories, is applicable to the then prevailing condition in Gwalior.

'*Times of India*' Weekly Edition 15th April 1903.

'TURKISH MISGOVERNMENT.'

"A correspondent writes from Beirut :— Those who watch events in Turkey are familiar with the more brutal methods of oppression and extortion, but cannot always understand the more polite methods of the corrupt officials in the larger cities. The people of Beirut, Syria, have just been treated to an extortion of blackmail that is worthy of being recorded. Some two years ago the Governor, Rashid Pasha, a man whose father and grandfather before him were all favourites of the "Palace clique" in Constantinople, and who has held his present post so long through the influence of that personification of misrule, succeeded in getting an Imperial commission to come down and make a new valuation of all the property in the city. This commission set about and did its business in the approved Turkish way. Those, who approached the members in the proper way and with enough

gold in their hands, succeeded in keeping the taxable value of their possessions at the old figures, while those who did not do so found the values of their houses greatly increased. According to Turkish law, when a man feels that he is being rated too high, or higher than his nearest neighbours, he can present a petition asking for a new survey of the property in question and theoretically obtain justice. As a matter of fact hundreds did file their protests against the unrighteous discriminations and unfair increase, but all these petitions were filed and never heard of again. Seeing that the new tax lists will be issued after March 13 on the basis of the new valuation, the city began to get nervous about the matter. Careful inquiry concerning the fate of the many petitions filed brought forth a curt answer from the Vali that none of them would ever be heard of and that all efforts to push them would be fruitless. At the same time a way of relief was pointed out to all who wished to avail themselves of it. Whoever wished his property valuation to go back to the old figure could have it so at once by paying to the Vali and his associates three times the amount of the increase demanded. The time being short and all hope of righteous redress

being denied, the people have made haste to avail themselves of this door of escape and the unholy business is at this moment in full blast. We know one man, acting for himself and a few of his family, who has paid over 1,200 Turkish pounds into the Vali's hands, or rather into the hands of his accredited agent. It is estimated that the Vali will pocket in this transaction something like 50,000 Turkish pounds, or, as some estimate it, as much as 100,000 pounds. Of course it is well-known that he must share this unrighteous gain with his backers at the Palace, or he could never venture to do such barefaced blackmailing."

The aspect of state affairs in Gwalior, prior to Sir Dinker Rao's regime, was more or less similar to that now prevailing in Turkey. How the administrative outlook changed for the better would be known from the coming chapter. The Ijara system, with its supporters in the palace, presented quite a parrallel case.

Chapter IV.

His Administration.

The difficulties that beset the path of Dinkar Rao in the administration of the state were of a very severe nature. There were stubborn enemies—open and secret. The Maharajah was a minor. The Sardars were powerful and generally opposed to any curtailment of the tortuous absolutism they enjoyed. The official circle was permeated with a self-seeking tendency and any the least encroachment on their power was tantamount to courting a serious danger. There were, to all intents and purposes, no well-founded laws and so a systematic administration was conspicuous by its absence. Men too, who could be trained to the new order of things, were to be found with difficulty in the state. Much less could then the new system which the Dewan was to introduce be understood and appreciated or supported by the existing batch of officers. The greatest difficulty, however, lay not in the incompetency but in the intentional

and systematic attempts of the Gwalior Officialdom to hinder the Dewan in any reforms he might think of introducing. Of these adverse circumstances the Dewan was not unaware. He foresaw such rubs which served only to enhance his determination and persevering spirit and he even expected much more. A consideration of all these matters will follow in the coming pages and we will deal seriatim with the reforms he effected with great tact, ability and success. Peace, reform and retrenchment seemed to be the new Dewan's motto and he set to mend things in accordance with it.

I The Revenue Department.

The Dewan directed his attention to this Department with gret zeal. He brought about radical changes in the whole Department. The whole state was divided into three divisions, Malwa, Esagar and Gwalior, for administrative purposes. Each division he placed under a Sir Soobha (Commissioner). Under him were the Soobhas or Collectors of Districts (zillas). Each Soobha had under him the Kamasdars (Tahsildars or Mamlatdars) and Naib Soobhas and so on. They were one and all handsomely paid and their respective

duties were clearly defined. A Revenue Code was prepared for the guidance of the Revenue officers and work was enjoined to be carried on strictly in accordance with the rules and regulations contained therin.

The Districts (the zillas), upto this time, were given to Ijardars (Farmers of Revenue) for a fixed sum to be annually paid by the Ijardar to theDurbar. The evils of this farming system need not be detailed here, as something about it will be said later on. The new Dewan destroyed this pernicious system, root and branch, and introduced a more or less Ryatwari system. Leases were distributed to the Rayat, fixing the amount of assessment they were to pay to the state, and the period for which these leases were to continue was a long one–from 25 to 30 years. Other payments, to which the cultivators were subjected and which were more or less illegal were stamped out with an iron hand.

The destruction of the Ijara or the farming system, was a great work done by the new Dewan. It involved a great amount of danger and difficulty, as the Ijardars were an influential and rich party in the state and had strong friends at the Court to support their cause. Their lawless and tyrannical methods of work

were unbearable and innumerable. Several of these Ijardars, whose sources of income were thus dried up, turned out eventually a most unyielding and uncompromising set of the Dewan's opponents. They spread wild reports about his noble and laudable views and tried otherwise to poison the Maharajah's ears with equally wild stories about the Dewan, misrepresenting him as a spy of the English, sent for the destruction of the state. These attempts on their part, however, did not bear any immediate fruit.

II. The Judicial Department.

The regular Judicial administration of the state, like the Revenue, owes its existence to this Dewan. The Sudder Adalut at Gwalior began its systematic work under his auspices. The Chief Justice or the Judge of the Sudder Adalat, the Naib Sir Soobha Foujdari, and the Naib Sir Soobha Dewani, Naib Soobhas Foujdari and Dewani, and the Munsifs had their respective duties clearly defined, and for their guidance there were rules and regulations embodied in a Judicial Code. The salaries of the Judicial officers were as liberal as those of the Revenue officers.

One great flaw, however, remained in this system-perhaps unconsciously. The language of the Courts, which ought to have been either Hindi or Marathi, was allowed to be Pharsi. This is the only fault we have to find with the otherwise laudable Judicial system, which came into existence in this great Dewan's happy regime.

III The System of Education.

The instruction of H. H. Maharajah Scindia's subjects received also a careful attention from the Dewan. There were formerly almost no state schools for the education of the Rayat's children. What rudimentary instruction was imparted to the children of His Highness's subjects, was imparted by private teachers. The Hindustani Guruji and the Mahratta Pantoji were the only imparters of instruction which was truly speaking not considerable. This was a condition far from satisfactory and the Dewan could not overlook the blessings of a good education. Schools were, therefore, founded in every important town in the Maharajah's dominions.

Under Sir Michael Tilose this department was carefully looked after and it maintained its former height and efficiency.

IV The Audit Department.

In order to put a check on all unauthorized and improper expenditure, the Dewan created an Audit Department whereby a great benefit accrued to the State. By this means it was easy to find out where there was an unjustifiable expenditure and where not. It was, like all the rest, a reform that owed its existence to the new regime and its effect on the administration was palpably good and beneficial. The office is still in existence, though some changes it might have undergone at this date.

V The Police.

With a view to ensure the security of property and to suppress crime, an efficient Police Department was created. Gangs of robbers and thugs, who infested the trunk roads, were brought to book. Dacoity was thus suppressed. At that time there were no railways and mails were carried by runners. Sometimes it so took place that these runners were attacked and the mails looted. This was not a rare occurrence. But the system of road-sepoys and road-chowkies put a stop to these pernicious inroads on the mails and the runners.

Chapter V.

General Tendency of the Dewan's Regime.

Though a strong man of resolute will, the Dewan always tempered justice with mercy. The laws and regulations, promulgated by the Dewan, partook something of the spirit of their author. While they were suited to the purpose they had to serve, they were in their essence mild and merciful. The defaulting peasant was not subjected to as much suffering by Dewan Dinkar Rao's laws, as it is generally the case even in British India. Justice was certainly to be administered strictly, but the element of mercy was allowed to be predominant in its administration. Capital punishment found no room in his Law Code. A long term of imprisonment supplied the rigour of law required for hard-hearted offenders, charged with capital crime. The Dewan seems to have possessed an intuitive knowledge of the legal maxim "Summum Jus, Summa Injuria". He was, therefore, always against having a great labyrinth of legal mandates and

desired ever to have a simple system of Laws.

In the beginning of his regime, the Dewan encountered much opposition from the Gwaliar officials, who, it is alleged, tendered their resignations en masse with the view of overawing the Dewan and obstructing his career of reform. But he was equal to the emergency of the occasion. He brought a sufficient number of trained officers from the North-Western Provinces and other parts of India and with them the vacancies were filled up. The majority of these imported officers were Kayasthas and Mahomedans and it is said that Dewan Dinkar Rao laid the foundation of the Kayastha influence in Gwaliar. This circumstance is considered to be of doubtful benefit. A dispassionate and liberal view of this matter would however convince the reader, that the Dewan, like the great Mr. Mandlik, had no race prejudices-a trait in his character, of which we will speak in sufficiently high terms later on.

Tne vexatious system of forced impressment of labour, which prevails in all uncivilized

* Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunath Rao had followed in Sir Dinkar Rao's footsteps by preparing very simple and excellent Law Codes for the Indore State. We will take up this subject later on.

states, was incompatible with the enlightened system of administration, in force now in Gwalior under the auspices of the Dewan. It was, therefore, put a stop to. Bribery and corruption were also dealt with with a strong hand.

All servants of the state received their pay regularly-a reform very praiseworthy and tending greatly to official purity and a conscientious discharge of official duties. No sooner had Dinkar Rao assumed the premiership of the state than his lynx-eyed statesmanship had to grapple with the problem of retrenchment in the expenditure of the state. He resolved to bring the prevailing extravagance under control. His chief object was to make the expenditure consistent with the income of the state. He effected this by reducing wholesale the scale of expenditure and with a praiseworthy spirit of fairness reduced his own salary to Rupees 2,000, though the Dewan usually received a more than double the amount. This was a masterpiece of policy and well adapted to stifle the clamour which such a sweeping reduction in the emoluments of the officers must necessarily give rise to. Thus the annual deficits, which dated from the Daolat Rao-Cum Ghadge Regime and of

the effects of which we have an interesting description in the 'Life of Elphinstone' by Colebrook, were got rid of and the state finances placed in a flourishing condition.

In this manner the Dewan Dinkar Rao effected a great change, despite obstinate opposition and unexpected obstacles, in the Civil Administration of Gwalior within a comparatively short time. It would be quite ungenerous not to attempt to confer a due meed of panegyric on the great man for his greater work. The systematic administration of Gwalior, of which he was the respected author, is certainly an everlasting memorial and an everlasting eulogium of his trancendental ability, foresight and uprightness.

We close this review of the Dewan's Administration by presenting to our readers an extract from our "History of Gwalior," in which this subject is duly discussed. A letter dated the 23rd of August 1855 from the Resident of Hyderabad (Mr. Bushby) to Major Macpherson, the resident of Gwaliar, would corroborate the statements which we will presently make regarding Dinkar Rao's superiority as a statesman to the great Sir Salar Jang of Hyderabad.

"Something has already been said about

the judicious reforms introduced by Dewan Dinkar Rao in the Gwaliar dominions, which owe, in a great measure, their present prosperity to his wise system of administration. Previous to Dinkar Rao's accession to power, the District officers, who were practically the rulers of their own districts, paid little attention to the interests of the state and had little care for the state lands, which they frequently gave in Jahageer or Inam to their favourites. Lawlessness and corruption greatly prevailed. The strong prevailed over the weak. The peasantry, the backbone and mainstay of the Indian population, were rack-rented or ill-treated in various ways. If the Ijardar paid annually the fixed amount due from him to the Durbar, he was allowed to have his own way in his district. There was no appeal from his decisions and his mandates. Frequently the Ijardars bribed the influential officers at the Court and in that case, remissions were made in the amount due from the Ijardar to the state Exchequer. The Judicial affairs were most carelessly managed and it often happened that both the suitor and the defendant had to propitiate the judicial officers for the settlement of their suits. Rich bankers were compelled to contribute to the

private purse of the most influential persons at the Court or in the Districts for the safety and security of their property and reputation. Other evils, the offspring of mis-rule and anarchy, too numerous to be enumerated here, were rampant in the dominions of Gwalior. But with Dinkar Rao's assumption of the reins of the Gwalior Government, all this darkness and disorder melted away. A new, systematic and happy regime was introduced in spite of fearful opposition. The District officers, the all powerful Ijardars, were prevented from feeding on the State, and all other evil practices were stamped down with a strong hand. The Dewan never cared for nor feared the systematic resistance and hindrance which he met with from the Kamdars, who were the party interested in maintaining the anarchy which allowed them a scope for filling their own coffers. Of course by the pursuit of this policy, in itself worthy of the highest praise, the Dewan made many enemies. Whatever may be the opinions of the interested parties, which are now almost conspicuous by their absence, it will ever be said by all impartial and fair-minded men that the great Minister was the pioneer and the founder of an enlightened and systematic administration in Gwalior.

Posterity will surely and justly applaud his high regime as one of the unmixed blessings to the poor rayat of Maharajah Scindia in general, and to the cultivator of the soil in particular. We again repeat that to Dewan Dinkar Rao belongs the credit of having seriously tried to suppress corruption and darkness in the Gwalior administration, and he will, for all time to come, be gratefully remembered as the great Dewan of Gwalior, whose purity even his opponents could not call in question and whose zeal in the rayat's welfare is admitted even now on all hands."

Chapter VI.

Thus in less than five years Dinkar Rao had changed the whole aspect of affairs. It was a change from a violent misrule to a reformed and enlightened regime of peace and order. The oft-recurring intrigues and bloodshed, the frequent appeals to arms for obtaining the object of ambition and the general devastation which such a condition necessarily engendered passed away. The glorious rays of a mild and beneficial system of laws and regulations dried up the sources of distress to Maharajah Scindia's subjects. Order replaced chaos and confusion. The whole country was settled amidst the beginning of an era of peace and prosperity. The greatest boon, Dewan Dinkar Rao conferred, was on the class of cultivators and the Zamindars. None were so much oppressed, none suffered so severely during the past mal-administrations as did the Gwalior peasants. Sir Richmond rightly acknowledged the blessings Dinkar Rao conferred on the Kastgars of Gwalior territory, and many eminent authorities have borne a

more liberal testimony to the splendid reforms of the Dewan in this and many other directions. The lines of a great administration were thus firmly laid and even now the work is carried on more or less on the same lines laid down half a century ago by the Gwalior's greatest Dewan.

In the beginning of the year 1857 an event, which was then considered to be of great political significance took place, *viz.*, the visit of Maharajah Scindia to Calcutta in company with the Resident Major Macpherson. A trip to Calcutta was then an undertaking not quite unattended with great inconvenience and even some danger. But the Maharajah was not desisted by these considerations from undertaking a journey to Calcutta for strengthening still more the friendly terms, which existed between the Gwalior Durbar and the Government of India since the time of Lord Ellenborough's visit to Scindia's capital. The good Governor General Lord Canning, known as "Clemency Canning," left no stone unturned in giving a magnificent reception to the Ruler of Gwalior. The Maharajah was sumptuously fêted and entertained by the Queen's representative. Maharajah Jayaji Rao left Calcutta exceedingly pleased with the hearty and generous hospitality of the kind-

hearted Lord Canning. A close intimacy existed between the Maharajah and Lord Canning throughout the incumbency of the latter, and it was only owing to this fact coupled with the influence of Dewan Sir Dinkar Rao, that Scindia remained steadfastly loyal to the British rule in India in the year 1857-58.

Thus was Dinkar Rao steering the ship of Gwalior administration clear of all shoals. The shadows of a great calamity were slowly approaching. India was slowly and gradually being driven towards a catastrophe, the like of which has never taken place in this country since the battle of Panipat when the loss of life that occurred during its continuance is taken into accounts. What part Gwalior played in the catastrophe and how the name of the hero of this narrative is linked with it will be known from the coming pages.

Chapter VII.

The Great Rebellion of 1857.

The name of Dewan Dinkar Rao is so inseparably connected with the Indian Rebellion or Mutiny of 1857, that we must notice that most important and terrible event with somewhat of detail. The reasons for our doing this are various. Gwalior, under the control of the Dewan, played the most conspicuous part in the Rebellion. Every one of the Historians of the Sepoy's Revolt is certainly of opinion that had Dinkar Rao and his master, the young Maharajah Scindia, been less zealous in the opportune help they rendered to the government, the British Indian Empire would have had to face almost insurmountable dangers and difficulties, without any strong expectation of sure success. This is not an exaggerated statement. The position of Gwalior was then such as to influence the event in a manner of which we have, at this distant date, a very imperfect knowledge. No state in India possessed such an excellent army as Gwalior

did. It occupies also a very advantageous strategical position. Its power of doing mischief as well as good was inexhaustible. Under a bad man, Gwalior would have become dangerous to itself and the whole of the British Indian Empire. There was another element of danger in the heart of this great state. The memories of Maharajahpore and Panhyar were not yet extinct. There was yet a party in the state hostile to the growth of the power of the English. This party was foiled in its attempts and looked eagerly for any suitable opportunity. Their humiliation and distress was now even greater as the Dewan Dinkar Rao had done already much to bring such dangerous parties and cabals under proper control. This party, therefore, had two objects in view ; (i) to break Dinkar Rao's power and (ii) to break the paramount power whenever their time came. These dormant forces, likely to be kindled by the least gust of a storm, had to be taken into account. Above all, the Mahrajah was young in years and inexperienced. His Highness was able and active but his very energy might have proved baneful. But happily Dinkar Rao, a for-sighted and lynx-eyed statesman, was on the spot. He could not afford to commit a mistake. He

devised measures for saving his master's dominions as well as the British Indian Empire. These are a few of the reasons why we must place before our reader an exhautive description of the events connected with the great Rebellon of 1857, and see how Gwalior saved herself and saved the British Indian Empire from greater and more terrible catastrophes.

The Indian Rebellion is certainly the most important political event of the 19th century, though to us of this generation it is difficult to realise its importance as well as its dangers. The year 1857—the year in which the Rebellion broke out—was a touch-stone by which the loyalty of the Indian peoples and princes to the throne of the British Queen—was severely tested. How all the Princes behaved and how they helped Britain in saving the British Empire in India will be known from the coming pages. The solid and substantial aid generously given by Maharajah Jayaji Rao and Rajah Dinkar Rao to the British nation during its most terrible distresses in 1857 will also be better understood from what follows. The Ruler of Gwalior and his illustrious Mininister continued to be, throughout that most critical and fatal year, the staunch friends and unswerving allies of the British Govern-

ment and the greater part of the credit of saving the British Empire in India from falling to pieces, was certainly due to the friendly attitude of Gwalior.

Before we give a description of the different stages in the rise and progress of the Rebellion, we should notice Sir John Kaye's remarks about Maharajah Jayaji Rao and Rajah Dinkar Rao.

It would certainly be interesting to note what an Englishman, a high political officer and an author of great eminence, has to say on this point and consequently a few extracts from the works of Sir John Kaye, the historian of the Sepoy Revolt, have been taken with the view of illustrating the remarks already made by us. "Everywhere" says Sir John Kaye "It was asked nervously what would Scindia do! The opportunity that lay before him was a tempting one. He might shake himself loose from the thraldom of the dominant Englishman. He might increase his territory and increase his army and become a more powerful and independent ruler than his ancestors had been in the palmiest days of the Raj." Regarding Maharajah Jayaji Rao's actions, prior to the outbreak of the Rebellion, the historian of the Sepoy Revolt observes as

follows: "Of the young Maharajah Scindia it was officially reported in 1856 that he seemed to enjoy no occupation save drilling, dressing, ordering, transforming, feasting, playing with his troops and the unwearied study of the books of evolution and he grudged no expenditure connected with this amusement." This is what Samuel Charters Macpherson, the personal friend of Jayaji Rao and Dinkar Rao, wrote to the Government of India, in his report dated the 3rd of December 1856.

Further on Sir John Kaye gives a very charming and noteworthy account regarding the Maharajah's personal aptitude and ability. "At this time" says Sir John "Scindia was in his twenty-third year. His love for military display had grown with his growth and strengthened with his strength. Had he lived half a century earlier, his ambition might have been pregnant with great events. He might have ripened into a leader of armies and made for himself a place in the history of the world." Such eulogy emanating from the pen of an author like Sir John Kaye ought certainly to be worthy of notice, as there is no reason whatever for the eminent author to err on the side of over-praising a Native Ruler.

Side by side with the opinions of British authors with regard to the Maharajah Jayaji Rao, it is imperatively necessary to place the views expressed by the same writers regarding the worth of Sir Dinkar Rao, whose influence on the character and actions of the young Prince as well as on the political movements in his state was exceedingly great. It is indeed likely to produce an inebriating effect on the minds of the people of this country to find an author like Sir John Kaye confessing without any hesitation and in unmistakable terms that "the greatest of the English administrators have learnt many lessons of wisdom" from the worthy Dewan Sir Dinkar Rao, regarding whose ability, energy and integrity in the discharge of his highly onerous duties, the historian of the Sepoy Revolt has to say as follows: "A man of Maharajah Jayaji Rao's character, if he had fallen into bad hands, might have been dangerous to himself and to others. Fortunately, however, he fell into good hands—hands that gently but firmly restrained the restlessness of his nature. At the most critical period of his life, he had Dinkar Rao at his elbow. That great native statesman who had shared with Salar Jung of Hyderabad, the glory of being the Abul Fazal of the nine-

teenth century, and from whom the best of our English administrators have learnt many lessons of wisdom, exercised a benign influnce not only over the Government of the Gwalior territory which he reformed and consolidated, but over the personal character of Maharajah Scindia himself."

The great Rebellion of which so much had been said and in which Jayaji Rao and Dinkar Rao took such a conspicuously loyal part first broke out at Meerut and spread like wild fire into the remotest parts of India. The Lieutenant—Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, which were the centre of the calamity and the rallying place of all the disaffected but brave soldiers, had to bear the brunt of the whole action. Mr. Colvin was in imminent danger. Maharajah Jayaji Rao and Dinkar Rao, on hearing of Mr Colvin's distress, at once sent the fine body-guard of Scindia to the assistance of the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra. Such an assistance was urgently required and hence its opportune arrival was most gratefully acknowledged by Mr. Colvin. Jayaji Rao and Dinkar Rao also succeeded by various artifices in retaining in a state of inaction the over-whelming number of soldiers, now quite ready and impatient to join

the ranks and thus to augment the strength of the mutineers whose power had already become very formidable. Twenty thousand trained and diciplined sepoys were in need of a chief to support them and guide their actions. These men displayed their uncommon valour and excellence against the forces under General Wyndham at Canpore and the army under Lord Straithnairne at Zansi.

It is not our subject to trace the whole course of the Mutiny nor is it required in a work of this kind. It is quite enough for our purpose to know something of His Highness's exertions aided by those of Sir Dinkar Rao and how they were crowned with glorious success. Both the Maharajah and the Dewan were able to save the several hundreds of British soldiers and officers and their families who found little or no shelter in the British territory adjoining the Gwalior dominions. Several officers and ladies were concealed in the cellars of the Palace of His Highness and their lives were kept secure from the danger of revengeful gaze of the wild mutineers. Gwalior is therefore called " the friendly Haven " to which helpless British officers and ladies came running with sanguine hopes of shelter throughout the continuance of the Rebellion. All these

helpless persons were treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality by the Maharajah and the Dewan. For these acts of kindness Britain owes "an ever-lasting debt of gratitude to Gwalior."

But the rebels who had such able leaders as Nana Saheb, Rao Saheb, the Rani of Zansi and others soon came to know that their cause sufferred greatly by Scindia's siding with the British Government. They requested Scindia to lead them but in vain. Jayaji Rao and Dinkar Rao incurred by their present conduct, which resolutely they did pursue during the continuance of the Mutiny, the severe displeasure of the rebels, who henceforth began to think of wreaking their vengeance on Scindia and compelling him to come to support their cause, which they, in the ecstasy of their ambitious hearts, thought was the cause not only theirs but of the whole of India. The brave rebels were certainly seriously mistaken in this their wild and ultra-patriotic view, which was clearly exploded by subsequent events.

After their defeat at Kalpee, Rao Saheb Peshwa and the Rani of Zanshi directed their steps towards Gopalpore where they were joined by Tatya Topay formerly an attendant

of Nana Saheb Peshwa, but now the commander of the Peshwa's troops. At this place, the confiderate chiefs began to hold consultations regarding the course they were to pursue in future.

The Rani of Zansi who "possessed", to use the words of Colonel Malleson, and "exercised unbounded influence over one at least of her companions, the Rao Saheb Peshwa," suggested the desperate remedy of attacking the city of Gwalior, and securing the impregnable fortress which might enable them to hold out longer against the invading column under Sir Hugh Rose, who was appointed by Lord Canning to supress the mutiny in central India, and who succeeded in accomplishing his object after an eminently glorious career of success. The Peshwa Rao Saheb, who eagerly listened to the advice of his intimate friend the Rani, gave his consent to this plan and immediately after this, they all commenced their marches in the direction of the capital of Scindia's dominions, which they reached on the 30th of May 1858 A. D. A considerable portion of the credit of suppressing these rebel forces is due to the laudable exertions of Baba Saheb Apte and Ramrao Baji who ably carried out Sir Dinkar Rao's orders in

helping Sir Hugh Rose and Sir Robert Hamilton.

So far back as the September of 1857 the Peshwa's general Tatya Topay had gone on a special mission to Gwalior, where he had the good fortune to succeed in gaining over the sympathies of the Morar contingent force to the cause of the Peshwa Nana Saheb. The same force afterwards inflicted a defeat on the army commanded by General Wyndham at Canpore. Topay also took advantage of his visit to Gwalior by making himself thoroughly acquainted with all the ins and outs of the political transactions, that were carried on at the court of Scindia during these troublous times. Topay found that all were completely bent on ruining the British cause and favouring the party of Nana Saheb except Maharajah Jayaji Rao and Dewan Dinkar Rao. Both the Maharajah and the Dewan were an insurmountable obstacle in the path of Topay. But Rao Saheb Peshwa thought that Scindia, as a hereditary servant of the Poona Durbar, would be the last man in the world to raise his sword against the descendants of the Peshwas. Hence Rao Saheb and the Rani of Zansi came to the conclusion that there was no likelihood of any opposition from the side of

Maharajah Scindia—an opinion in which Topay afterwards acquiesced.

The Peshwa's hopes of receiving Scindia's aid were false expectations, mere creations of honest brains in troubles. Jayaji Rao, to whom Rao Saheb and the Rani had addressed a friendly letter requesting his aid, defied them and declared his intention of fighting the rebels. How far Scindia was right in this his youthful freak may be left to the imagination or rather to the judgment of the reader. But the advice tendered by Sir Dinkar Rao was at least far more suited to the occasion. Sir Dinkar Rao came forward and plainly exhorted the young Maharajah not to embark on such a rash and imprudent course of conduct, but to no purpose. The Maharajah turned a deaf ear to these wise counsels of Sir Dinkar Rao, who with a laudable foresight advised the Maharajah not to take any active measures against the mutineers until and unless the British army had advanced to Gwalior for his assistance. But the Maharajah paid no heed whatever to these words. The Maharajah in the enthusiasm of his heart fired a large gun in the direction of the Peshwa's camp. The cannon ball is said to have passed by the Peshwa and the Rani who were sitting outside their tents.

The Peshwa could not be prevailed upon to believe that the shot had come from the direction of the capital of Scindia, the descendant of Ranoji Rao, the servant of the great Baji Rao. The Rani of Zansi, who bore the greatest affection to the Peshwa, implored him not to be guided by such delusion and issued orders for an attack on Gwalior. The Rani with a chosen body of troops rode gallantly to the very muzzles of the Gwalior artillery and charged the gunners, cutting down several of them on the spot. The Maharajah Jayaji Rao had the mortification to see with his own eyes that his fine army had dispersed before the first resolute attack of the Rani, who is reported to have seen the young Maharajah beginning the affair by firing a large gun. She accosted him thus "I can deprive you of your life here with my sword, but you are a coward and a misguided youth." The victory of the Peshwa's army was complete and Gwalior lay at the mercy of the victors.

This important event took place on the 1st of June 1858. The Peshwa Rao Saheb and the Rani entered Gwalior with all the pomp and circumstance of a victory whereupon the Peshwa was formally crowned king of the

state, and several Durbars were held for conferring rewards on many a favourite. The state treasury was opened and large disbursements were made to the army. The poor were fed with great liberality and a considerable amount was spent in charity to the Brahmans, nearly 50,00,000 rupees, being thus disposed of. As Ganga Dashhar happened to commence during the short reign of the Peshwa and the Rani several religious ceremonies were performed with great eclat. While the Mutineers were thus celebrating their short-lived triumph, the forces under sir Hugh Rose were already on their way to Gwalior.

The Gwalior Contingent force broke out into open rebellion on the 14th of June 1857. Their spirits were greatly raised by the exaggerated reports of successes and victories in the North and West of Gwalior. They set fire to the barracks in the Morar cantonment and cut down every European, officer or soldier, they came across. The Resident, Major Macpherson, being in great danger, hastened to consult Maharajah Jayaji Rao and Dinkar Rao with regard to the safety of the European families at Gwalior and Morar. Major Macpherson and Sir Dinkar Rao arrived at the

conclusion, to which the Maharajah gave consent, that unless the European ladies and children were carried to the Agra fort, their complete safety was an impossibility. The Resident, at first, did not think of accompanying the ladies and their children to Agra, but the Maharajah and Dewan Dinkar Rao, in both of whom the Major had complete confidence, prevailed upon him to leave the Morar cantonment for the present, as at Morar the Resident would, in all probability, have fallen a victim to the wrath of the exasperated sepoys of the Gwalior contingent force. At last the Major left Gwalior in company with the ladies and children and attended by a strong escort supplied by the Maharajah Scindia. The journey of the Resident was not however unattended with humiliation and danger. At Hingona, a place between Dholepore and Gwalior, Jehangir Khan, an officer belonging to the disaffected army of Scindia, went to Major Macpherson in the guise of a sincere friend with the view of enticing the Resident's party to a fixed place in the valley of the Chambal, where a strong body of fine troops was in ambuscade, ready to pounce upon the helpless European officers, ladies and children. But the

vigilant Sir Dinkar Rao had, somehow, been informed of this treacherous affair, previous to its being fully accomplished and had sent Thakur Baldeo Sing, elder brother of Sardar Bahadur Risaldar Major Gopal Sing C. I. H. to apprise the Resident of the danger as well as to accompany the Resident's party for its safety. The gallant Baldeo Singh accomplished his task most satisfactorily. He safely carried the party across the Chambal, which forms the boundary between the states of Gwalior and Dholepore.

Of Thakur Baldeo Singh of Jara in the district of Jigni (Gwalior), a short account in the present work could not be deemed as a digression. This worthy Thakur who was deputed by Sir Dinkar Rao to accompany the Resident's party to Agra for their safety on the journey and whose courage and foresight were the direct cause of saving such valuable lives as those of Major Macpherson, Captain (afterwards the well-known Sir Richard Meade K. C. S. I.) R. J. Meade and others, belongs to a respectable Brahmin family of the Dandotia caste. He was the head of his clan, known widely for their bravery and attachment to the Gwalior Raj, and was an intimate friend and protégé of Raja Sir Dinkar

Rao, who utilised the worthy Thakur's services in any emergency that arose. The peace of the districts surrounding Jara, inhabited as they are by tribes, often given, in days gone by, to resort to arms for the redress of their wrongs and the obtaining of their livelihood, could best be secured by the Durbar by the friendly attitude of this family, which commands considerable respect from the local clans. At a time when the Ambah (Tawarghar named after the Pavar Rajputs) Zamindars could be prevailed to pay their share of the revenue assessment to the Durbar officers only by the pressure of a strong military force, this Jara family was of considerable help to the Gwalior authorities. Thakur Baldeo Singh's brother Risaldar Major Gopal Sing Sirdar Bahadar A. D. C. to the Viceroy, rendered valuable services to the government for nearly 36 years and died full of honour and age in 1895. Baldeo Sing's sons and grandsons are still living in Jara. The family enjoy a considerable Jahageer from the British Government and are entitled to chair in the Agra Durbar. Gopal Singh leaves behind him an only grandson of about 15, the son having died some years ago. Officers of the C. I. H. and the A. G. G. in C. I. take

as usual a great deal of interest in the welfare of this famous family, but it is much to be regretted that Baldeo singh's grandsons have resigned their posts under government, and have become sowcars. There existed for nearly thirty years a close friendship between his family and the father* of the writer of these pages. It is therefore, a genuine happiness to the author of the present work, that he has had the honour of relating herein the wellknown services of this famous family. The author has the pleasure of being acquainted with several members of this family and hopes are entertained that the family may see better days in times to come. The hope is still more strengthened when it is remembered that great officers like colonel M. J. Meade C. I. E. and others are always willing and glad to promote the welfare of this loyal family.

* Rao Bahadur Waman Rao Tatya Barway, Soobha and sometime Sir Soobha of Malwa in Gwalior.

Chapter VIII.

The brave but misguided mutineers thought that the British power would suffer irretrievably owing to the withdrawal of the Resident to Agra. They further beguiled themselves by the vain hopes that the Scindia may now be persuaded to support the cause of the mutineers; but the discontented sepoys, in entertaining these hopes, were literally pursuing the mirage. Major Macpherson was on the most intimate terms with the young Maharajah and Sir Dinkar Rao, and though he was now in the fort at Agra, he continued as directly to influence the political transactions at Scindia's court as if he was in the Residency at Morar. How this was possible, may be learnt from the account given by Mr. Charles Raikes, who was at that time with the party of Major Macpherson in the Agra fort. "Few know" says Mr. Charles Raikes "How much we at Agra are indebted to Major Macpherson for our immunity from attack by the fine force of the Gwalior contingent with their powerful seige artillery. The real state of the case was

this. The political Agent had full influence over Scindia's Dewan or Prime Minister, the celebrated Dinkar Rao. The Minister in his turn influenced his master and thus Major Macpherson from the interior of the fort at Agra, ruled the course of events at the court of Gwalior." Before we return to the narration of the events at Gwalior after the defeat of the Mahrajah and his flight to Gwalior, we must perform the pleasant duty of estimating how much Scindia's pro-British tendencies, the result of Dinkar Rao's influence, had benefited the British cause in India. Had Scindia been persuaded by the mutineers to strike against the English "the character of the Revolt," to use the weighty words of an eminent British authority "might certainly have been changed beyond the scope of speculation." There were indeed great facilities for the Maharajah's being inclined to join the rebels. (1) Almost all the military officers of Scindia were favourable to the cause of the Peshwa. (2) At the same time highly exaggerated reports of the distress of the British sway owing to their 'defeats' at Canpore, Lakhnow and Zansi had been spread broad-cast with great success. (3) The Maharajah was, in fact, a youth of only 23

years and had all the violence and rashness, characteristics of a great military leader, in his youth. He was surrounded by a large army which frequently whispered into Scindia's ears that he was sure to rule the whole of India, if he threw in his lot with the enormous forces of the rebel chiefs. Thus on every side Scindia, young and inexperienced as he was, was surrounded by powerful temptations. But fortunately at this critical time the strong-minded Dewan Dinkar Rao was at the Maharajah's elbow and Major Macpherson had done a most judicious act in securing the good graces of the Dewan and through him of the Maharajah. Consequently, in spite of all obstacles and disappointments Scindia remained conspicuously loyal to the British power in India, and the sole credit of this is due to the veteran statesman Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao K. C. S. I. who is justly called one of the saviours of British India. A few more extracts from the writings of those authors, who had been eye-witnesses of the terrible catastrophe of 1857-58, may be perused with great interest and may impart an agreeable information to the student of the history of the great Mutiny of 1857. It is well-known that every native prince–from the Naizam down

to the pettiest Thakur —was intent on observing the course which Scindia would adopt with regard to the mutiny. Every native prince was disposed to shape his conduct in accordance with the movements of Scindia. If Scindia would have joined the mutineers, we have no doubt that every native court would have followed in his wake and a general rising would have occurred against the British rule in India. What would have been the dismal consequences may be left to the imagination of the reader. But now though the danger passed away chiefly owing to the aid of the native chiefs generally and of Scindia particularly, it would never be looked upon as an empty assertion, if we said that had Gwalior rashly joined the mutinous leaders a most horrible tale might have been told of the great Indian Rebellion. In corroboration of this statement, the following extracts may be read with great interest by the reader.

(*a*) "It needs but a glance at the map to show what the result might have been, had Gwalior sided with the rebels. The Nizam's territories, already sufficiently inflammable, would assuredly have caught fire; and it is questionable whether in that case any part of

southern India could have been saved."—"Memorials of service in India."

(*b*) "Gwalior, while it thus continued in his hands, might have been regarded as in one sense the key of India, or rather perhaps, as one link of a chain which could not have given way in any part without ruining our power in India. If the ruler of Gwalior had either played us false or succumbed to the strong adverse elements with which he had to contend, the revolt would certainly have been national and general instead of being local and mainly military; and instead of its fate being decided by those operations in the easily traversable Gangetic valley upon which public attention was concentrated, we should have had to face the warlike races of Upper India combined against us in a most difficult country, and in all probability those of the south also". Ibid.

The Kesari (Lion) of Poona declared on the 27th of May 1890, that Lord Canning cabled to the Home authorities to the effect that, "If Scindia had joined the mutiny he should have had to pack off immediately."

Such was the critical year 1857. The misery and distress of several British officers and ladies are beyond the pale of description.

Parched by the scorching rays of the meridian sun and surrounded on every side by the fierce gaze of the exasperated mutineers, several British officers and ladies had to disguise themselves in native costumes and to live in the huts of hospitable Hindu peasantry having no other means of subsistence except hard cakes, dál and a tumbler full of water. But enough of the heart-rending account. Suffice it to say, that the cordial co-operation of Gwalior, Nepal, Kashmeer, Patial, Jeypore, Hyderabad and Indore, combined with the bravery and the skill of such Generals as Sir Hugh Rose, Sir Colin Campbell and others, the terrible disaster passed away. India and England were again linked together by golden bonds of love.

The testimony which such an influential journal as the 'Pioneer' bears to the valuable help given by Maharajah Jayaji Rao and Rajah Dinkar Rao to the British Government in its hour of greatest peril is really important and worthy of the attention of our readers. In a review of a career of the illustrious Sir Dinkar Rao, after H. Excellency's death at Allahabad on Thursday in January 1896, the Pioneer, among other very highly flattering remarks, made the following observations

which are literally true and entitled to the careful attention of evey lover of the peace of India. "There was" says the Pioneer of the 8th June 1896 "certainly no man in India whose allegiance was more tried in the days of the Mutiny than Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia. On the one hand all British authority itself, moral as well as physical, was in abeyance in Central India, where the Governor-Generals' Agent (Colonel Sir Henry Marian Durand) had to fall back from Indore with a little band of officers and fugitives to Bhopal. On the other hand the paralysed and defenceless N. W. Provinces on his borders invited him, if there had been a shadow of disloyalty in his intentions, to strike in with decisive effect. While his troops were clamouring to him to lead them into Hindustan, it is difficult to say what Scindia might not have done had he determined to throw himself into the fray in June. But neither he nor his minister ever waivered in the side which they should take. They could not control the troops, nor restrain them from local out-breaks, but they hindered them from joining as a body in the revolt, and detained them with pretexts and excuses and even when the mutineers from Mhow and

Indore came through the country, succeeded in preventing them from making common cause with these. Probably there is no man who has a right to say how far it was the counsels of the latter (Dinkar Rao) which kept his master in the right path. But a man of Sir Dinkar Rao's ability and influence would have made it very easy for him (Jayaji Rao) to go wrong, had the minister's inclination lain that way. It is notorious however that his weight was thrown into the opposite scale. The shrewd Brahman statesman had no love for the excesses of the turbulent soldiery and he had also the enlightenment to see clearly, through the strife and din that encompassed the country, to the ultimate restoration of order and the supremacy of the paramount power."

Chapter IX.

We had left the Peshwa and the Rani of Zanshi in the full enjoyment of their victory over the Gwalior forces. The Maharajh had already fled to Agra where Dinkar Rao, after providing for the safety of Baizabai and the Ranees, joined his master at no distant date. Sir Hugh Rose had been ordered to take Gwalior and re-seat the Maharajah on his ancestral throne. In pursuance to these instructions, the illustrious General Sir Hugh Rose's army arrived at Gwalior on the 17th of June 1858. An engagement soon took place between the forces of the British General and those of the Peshwa. The Rani of Zanshi met with a heroic death, and her body was burnt with great pomp and splendour. The forces of the rebels were completely routed and the Peshva, overwhelmed with grief caused by the Rani's death, left Gwalior, despairing and disheartened. On the 20th of June in 1858, 19 days after the flight of the Maharajah from Gwalior; Jayaji Rao was again placed on the throne of his fore-

fathers The disturbance was fully quelled at Gwalior, and General Sir Hugh Rose restored order in the capital of Scindia. A new treaty consisting of the ten articles was made by the Maharajah with the British Government and it was formally ratified by the Governor-General Lord Canning at Benaras on the 12th of December 1860.

Here ends the account of the conspicuous part taken by Gwalior in the transactions connected with the great Rebellion. We will not weary our readers with any further details. But it is necssary to bestow praise on two illustrious officers of Scindia Sirkar, *viz.* Babasaheb Apte and Ramchandra Baji Rao, for they fully deserve it. The valuable assistance rendered by these two able officers to the army called the "Central India Field Force," commanded by Sir Hugh Rose, has been highly applauded by the British Government and it need not be repeated here that but for the opportune and vigorous exertions of these two brave and spirited men, Sir Hugh Rose's progress in Central India would certainly have been greatly obstructed and a speedy return of tranquillity would have been put off for a long time. For their valuable exertions Aptesaheb and Ramchandra Rao

received the thanks from the Government of India and considerable Jahageers from the Maharajah Scindia who ever held them in the highest estimation. Both of these officers were then holding the high offices of Governors of Malwa and Esagar respectively and so were around the centre of the mutinous power in Central India. With regard to the part played by Scindia and Dinkar Rao in the mutiny, Colonel Malleson C. S. I. author of the "Indian mutiny", of "The Native Princes and their states" etc. bears the following testimony "Had the ablest member of the Council of India been at his ears, he could not have inspired him with counsels more calculated to prove beneficial to the British cause than those which he (Jayaji Rao) and his minister Dinkar Rao with the instinct of truly loyal nature, followed of their own free will". These words we have quoted at the end of our description of these events with which Gwalior was so closely and so honourably connected, because we feel sure that, the panegyric bestowed upon Jayaji Rao and Dinkar Rao by Colonel Malleson is especially of very great importance when we know fully that the Colonel is not given to overpraise of the Princes and is not so liberal as Sir John Kaye in his distribution of eulogy.

The success of Sir Dinkar Rao in his administration of this great state and his rising power and influence were an eyesore to those officers of the Gwalior state who were feeding on the state. They were, therefore, interested in maintaining the anarchy and confusion which formerly prevailed. They naturally tried their best in 1856 to oust the worthy Dewan Dinkar Rao from office. These attempts were however baffled through the praiseworthy exertions of Major-Macpherson, who was an officer of great foresight and had the rare power of judging for himself the capability of those with whom he came in contact. Major Macpherson was successful in his endeavours to bring about amicable relations between the Maharajah whose ears were poisoned by Dinkar Rao's dishonourable enemies and his Dewan. The Resident also had such a charming disposition, that only a short time after receiving the charge of his office from Colonel Malcolm, he contracted the intimate friendship of the Maharajah and Dinkar Rao. It was these cordial relations between the Resident, the Maharajah and the Dewan that stood the British Government in good stead in 1857.

Henceforth the Gwalior Durbar had not

much to do with the mutiny. At least they had no direct connection with the transactions connected with it after the re-installation of the Maharajah on the 19th of June 1858, though the final overthrow of the mutinous chiefs and soldiers had not been accomplished for a long time after that date. When the rebellion had been completely quelled and order was restored in the disaffected districts, Lord Canning left Calcutta for a grand tour with the object of inspiring still greater confidence in the minds of the Native Sovereigns and securing their complete good-will, which had been of so invaluable service in the late disastrous times. The pre-eminent exertions of the different chiefs and Rulers were to be gratefully acknowledged with due and solemn ceremony. For this purpose the Governor-General after his arrival at Agra, held a magnificent Durbar in that city and tendered publicly his thanks to all the princes who had assembled there in response to the invitations from the representative of the British Queen. In the Grand Durbar held on the 30th of November in 1859, His Excellency took advantage of the opportunity by expressing on behalf of the Sovereign, his warmest feelings of gratitude to the Maharajah

Scindia for the beneficial measures adopted by His Highness for saving the British Empire in India, as well as for His Highness's kindness and hospitality to the helpless ladies and officers, who had flocked for shelter to his Palace. Later on, His Excellency enumerated in the course of his speech all the good services rendered by the Gwalior Durbar to the British Government in its hour of great peril, and at the conclusion of the memorable Viceregal oration, informed the Maharajah that in grateful recognition of these brilliant services, the British Government was pleased to confer on His Highness a territorial reward worth about three lakhs of rupees per annum. The right of adoption was also received by His Highness along with all the Indian Princes. The Gwalior infantry was allowed to be increased from three to five thousand soldiers. Before resuming his seat, His Excellency bestowed an appropriate meed of panegyric on the illustrious Statesman Rajah Dinkar Rao, who not only had helped the British Government in saving their Empire but had saved Gwalior from the greatest danger that could ever befall it. In recognition of the eminent services performed in 1857, His Excellency conferred on the worthy

Dewan a Jahageer of 5,000, rupees per annum. This reward is certainly but a meagre recognition of the Dewan's valuable exertions. The Maharajah, however, made up the insufficiency of the reward by conferring on the Dewan a splendid Jahageer, yielding a net revenue of 60,000 rupees a year.*

The Great Revolt had now passed away and the chiefs and peoples of India had again begun to enjoy peace owing to the mild but statesman-like measures of Lord Canning. In this work, it is not necessary to attempt to fathom the cause or causes that brought about the terrible calamity. Suffice it to say that the Indian mind is prone to attribute this great calamity that befell the British Empire, to the grossly mistaken Annexation—Policy of the Dalhousie school of politicians. During Lord Dalhousie's regime, Nagpore, Oudh, Satara, the Punjab and several other states had been added to the British dominions with little or no reason. The Historians of the Mutiny, Kaye and Malleson, attributed the Great Rebellion to "bad faith" of the Company's Governors-General. It would therefore

* Lord Thurlow has duly criticized the meagre reward conferred by the British Government on Sir Dinkar Rao. More comment is unnecessary.

appear quite plain that some share of the blame did fall to the lot of the British administrators who then ruled India, and whose territorial greed served to excite the Indian minds against the Company's rule in India. The action of the gallant but misguided sepoy's deserves to be equally condemned though they had sufficient reason to be greatly excited when the "Cartridge scare" is taken into consideration. According to Lord Lawrence "The Mutiny had its origin in the army itself; it is not attributed to any external or antecedent conspiracy whatever although it was afterwards taken advantage of by disaffected persons to compass their own ends. The approximate cause was the cartridge affair, and nothing else".

We give here the opinion of John Dickinson as regards the source of real danger to British power in India.

"Then, it may be said, do I deny the existence of danger in India? I do deny the existence of any danger from within, that we do not want only and knowingly, from corrupt motives, create for overselves, either by maintaining an excessive military force, or by a system of confiscation which drives those native Princes and landowners to despair, who, until their

possessions are threatened, are bound by their strongest interests to support us. I do not deny the existence of danger from without. On the contrary, ever since I read the volume as a boy, I have never been able to shake off the foreboding expressed by Nicholls, in his "Recollections," that the downfall of the British Empire would begin by a struggle with a combination of civilised rivals for the possession of India (like that "League of Cambri" which began the ruin of Venice). Such a combination has often been projected. I have reason to believe it is kept in view; and if ever it comes, it will show at once that we have been mad in relying on mere brute force to hold India against the will of the people, though we shall be so mad if our punishment is decreed. It is a proverb, that "Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat."—John Dickinson, F. R. A. S., "Dhar not Restored," P. V.

Education has, however, now developed the minds of the sons of India and made them aware of the blessing of the benign rule of England over this country. It is then a source of no mean rejoicing to find that such disasters are now rarely to happen. On the contrary, if necessity arrives, the people of

this country will loyally fight, side by side with the British soldiers, for averting an external and common danger to the British Empire. The weird prophecy in regard to the Samvat 1914 (1857) has been fulfilled and now undisturbed peace shall reign over this ancient land for many a century to come. Now India's loyalty can never be doubted.

Maharajah Scindia found a fresh opportunity to increase his territory. The Raja of Amjara had joined the mutineers and had thus forfeited all claims to his kingdom. The Raja was deposed and his state was annexed. But being a tributary of Scindia, the state-lands could not be claimed by the British Government. It was then decided by the Government of India that as the Maharajah had been able to prove thorough justice of his claims to the possession of the Raja's principality, the state should be in its entirety made over to the Gwalior Durbar. Thus lands yielding about three lakhs a year were added to the Gwalior dominions.

The Mutiny was attended with a political issue of the greatest significance, by which the Prince and the people of Gwalior along with other Native Powers. and peoples were greatly benefited. The British Parliament

decided that the Crown should undertake the direct Government of India and hence the rule of the Honourable East India Company which was of doubtful benefit to the Princes and the peoples of India, terminated in 1859. Ever since the transfer of the Government of India from the company to the Crown, political morality has greatly improved and has also begun slowly but surely to sway the deliberations of the governing body. In the days of the company's rule, the sole aim and object of the governing body was to extend the boundaries of the British dominions and the means employed by them for the attainment of this object were not always as honourable or fair as were expected from them. Great statesmen like Burke and Fox of the by-gone times and Bright, Fawcett and Bradlaugh of our own times, have denounced, in an unequivocal language, the ways to which some of the makers of the British Empire had unnecessarily resorted. Dalhousie had followed a censurable policy, a policy that has been severely criticized and boldly exposed by such eminent politicians as the Right Hon. Sir George Clerk, Sir Edwin Arnold and the Hon. V. N. Mandlik. The determination, therefore, of the British Crown to take the

Government of India in their own hands was nothing short of an emphatic and indignant protest against the highly short-sighted policy of the Company's rule in India. Nay it was a bold denunciation of the Company's method of Government, a denunciation by which the whole British nation expressed their noble desire to put a stop for ever to any further injury to the sacred rights and privileges of the Indian Princes and peoples, as the English nation could not brook such a conduct under any condition. The "Proclamation" of 1858, was, therefore, truly speaking the Magna Charta of India and gave a new life to the political aspirations of India. It served also to correct, with a noble intention, the accumulated political errors of the Dalhousie school so ably criticised by many a British statesman. The nobleminded Lord Canning, who had to suffer for the political blunders of his predecessors, finally dispelled, by means of his sympathetic and pacific policy, the gloom that overhung the whole of India and thus paved the way for such a Government of India, as was consistant with justice, and fair play. For all these services India certainly owes a great debt of gratitude to Lord Canning, the first Viceroy of India, who was called "Cle-

mency Canning" for his generous treatment of those who helped the English in the mutiny.

Chapter X.

A "Microscopic minority" now almost extinct had poured forth a torrent of sharp vituperation on the conduct of Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia and Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao during the mutiny. They believed that a very suitable opportunity had arrived in 1857 for asserting independence and founding a native rule in India, and they condemned Jayaji Rao and Dinkar Rao. In the pages of this work, something must necessarily be said in refutation of their baseless denunciations of the policy pursued by the Ruler of Gwalior and his Prime Minister—a policy which, viewed from all points, seems to be irreproachable. While refuting these arguments, we must take a general view of the condition of the native states and the character and competency of the rulers of these states, for it is quite plain that if the British power (an impossible if) had been compelled to retire from India; and supposing also that no other European power had come, the whole of the country would have been a prize for the ambition and contention

of the several native powers. India thus would have been torn to pieces. We know it very well that Scindia, Holkar and the Prince of Jaypore, though afterwards they proved able rulers, were then quite inexperienced and raw youths and thus unable to grapple with the solution of the mighty political problem that lay before them in the case of the British withdrawal from India. There was, moreover, at that time, something of estrangement between the Rajputs and the Mahrattas, and it is quite certain the former could not be expected to have quite forgotten the humilation and defeats that they owed to the latter. The powerful Shikhs might, perchance, have been inclined to claim a teritorial aggrandizement. The Burmese, too, who had at one time been so bold as to demand the province of Bengal, might perchance have come forward to attempt to improve their chances of obtaining a footing in India. India, therefore, disunited and mis-guided as she was, might have—in the case of the British withdrawal in 1857—witnessed such horrible scenes as she had never seen before and oceans of Hindu and Mahomedan blood would unfortunately have soiled and polluted this great and Golden Land. The political, social and educational progress which

is now marching on, under the foreign yet benign sway of Britain, with slow but sure steps, would have been an impossibility and this "Land of Gold" would have been unfortunately the scene of terrible and perpetual wars between uncontrollable rivals for power and supremacy. There was no Nana Fadnavis or Mahadji Scindia to join together the hearts of the heterogeneous hosts that contended for power or supremacy. Without such a mastermind, it was impossible to achieve success. The withdrawal of the British rule from this country in 1857 would have certainly been fatal to the best interests of India. Consequently the part Jayaji Rao and Dinkar Rao took in the Mutiny seems to us to be thoroughly free from any reproach and quite well suited to the occasion.

The criticism of the well-intentioned but raw patriots regarding the part that Jayaji Rao and Dinkar Rao played during the course of the great Mutiny has already been shown to be groundless. No reasonable and farsighted man can say that the Maharajah and his able Minister erred in any way. The path that they pursued, as we have already remarked, was thoroughly free from reproach. There was, however, only one plan which would

have been of great utility in avoiding the terrible bloodshed that took place and in ensuring the peace and safety of the North Indian Provinces at less cost as well as in silencing the clamours of the discontented parties. In our opinion the Gwalior Durbar might have been able to avoid the serious steps, that they were compelled to have recourse to, by bringing about a better understanding between the Peshwa Rao Saheb and the Rani of Zanshi on one side and the Government of India on the other, because both of these former persons were discontented only on account of the resumption of their Jahageers and pensions, the continuance of which, in its original amount, they had eagerly solicited. These two persons became estranged when they found that their Jahageers and pensions were stopped and that what was offered to them by the Government of India was not sufficient to maintain their position and dignity. We know from the oral accounts of old people still living, that the Commissioner of Canpore had even gone to the length of offering a small principality yielding twenty lakhs of rupees annually to Dhondopant, the son of the wicked Baji Rao II, though of course we

have no documentary evidence to verify our information. We were also told by old men, who were on the establishment of Nana Saheb, that he had promised the commissioner of Canpore to remain in peace. But that promise Nana Saheb was compelled to violate by the occurrence of an extraordinary event, which we cannot resist the temptation of relating herein. The armed forces numbering nearly 20,000, that had then come to Canpore from various stations, proceeded to the Palace of Nana Saheb, and demanded an interview. Nana aware of the intentions of the forces, refused to admit their leader to his presence, and ordered Tatya Topay, a servant of the Peshwa to communicate his master's message to the leader accordingly. Topay was caught by the leader of the mutineers when he heard such a message from his lips, and the only way of escaping was that he should prevail upon his master to accept the leadership of the misguided mutineers. Topay, was in a fix and could think of only one way of being rescued from such an undeserved termination of his life. He took the leader to the old mother of Nana and by their conjoint remonstrations with the lady, prevailed upon

her to persuade Nana Saheb to accept the leadership of the large forces and thus be able to lay the foundation of a large state. The fiery eloquence of the leaders filled the lady's mind with great hopes. The old lady bound her son by a strong and inviolable oath, declaring that if he did not act up to her advice, she would have nothing to do with him, and would either burn herself or die by being drowned in the Ganges. The old lady was, in fact, blinded by the illusive hopes of greatness, which were held out to her by the brave but imprudent leader of the large forces which then had assembled in Canpore. Nana could not help yielding his assent to the proposal of his aged mother. The fate of the Peshwa's family was doomed. Topay was a faithful servant of the Peshwa and his ruin followed that of his master. What has been alleged to have been done with so much caution by the Commissioner of Canpore in the case of Nana Saheb ought to have been done by Gwalior in that of the Peshwa, Rao Saheb, and his friend the Rani of Zanshi. It would surely have induced them to leave the side that they had unfortunately taken. The prospect of a good understanding with the Government of India and the consequent

advantages of such a reconciliation might have soothed the discontented minds of the Rao Saheb and the Rani of Zanshi, and would have made them staunch friends of the Gwaliar Durbar and the Government of India. But we cannot go the length of censuring the Maharajah Jayaji Rao and Sir Rajah Dinkar Rao, because they did not, or rather could not, do what we have ventured to say herein. The times were of the greatest excitement and the great amount of vigilance and anxiety, that the Prince and his minister had to pass through, could not possibly suggest the accomplishment of such plans which are more readily suggested when the mind is in a calm and undisturbed mood. The Maharajah and his Dewan could very well have justified their conduct by saying that afterthoughts like these were of no avail in the heat and excitement of such extraordinary and troublous times as those they had to face and no reasonable man can deny that the times were really critical to a degree and everybody had to shape his conduct according to the force of circumstances rather than to indulge in pondering on subtle questions of political foresight or eventual good. In those days of great excitement the thought of the safety

of self was necessarily uppermost in every heart and it must be justified by the very constitution of the human mind. The idea of saving those who had unfortunately swerved from the right path must have been subordinated in those days to the thought of saving one's own life and reputation. In the case, however, of the Maharajah and Dinkar Rao, the weight of responsibility was still greater They had to save a whole state from destruction and devastation, and this grand anxiety must naturally have prevented them from casting their eyes beyond the confines of their own state and taking into their consideration the deplorable condition of those who were misled by the vain and illusive hopes of those times of universal lawlessness and disorder. That Rao Saheb Peshwa and the Rani of Zanshi had no better councillors than those by whom they were surrounded is greatly to be regretted, and the only wonder is, how they could have been so much off their guard as not to be able to see clearly through the strife and din that had encompassed the country to the ultimate restoration of peace and the supremacy of the British power. But no man is stronger than destiny, and destiny had then, as it ever has,

her course unchecked. Inscrutable are the workings of Providence! Though man does and must exert himself to the utmost, still a careful study of the histories of nations does show that a power, far higher than that of man, pervades the whole course of human action and energy and distributes success and failure in a manner unknown to a finite being like man.

Chapter XI.

The Indian Mutiny of 1857.

A New Cause.

We place before our readers an interesting account as to the part alleged to be played by Russia and Turkey in the mutiny.

In 1892, I began to collect information and materials for my "History of Gwalior." Through the kindness of Principal A. Thomson of Agra College, I had been enabled to have access to old works on Indian History now almost out of reach. At Agra and Jaipore, I had also the opportunity to hear graphic accounts about the Indian Mutiny from the lips of the old persons who were eye witnesses of what had occurred during the course of that dreadful event. These old people told me much about 'Roos' (Russia) and 'Roomsham' (Constantinople), and it was easy to gather from what they said that Russia and Turkey undoubtedly occupied a place in the minds of those actually connected with the scenes of 1857. In the coming paragraphs

I have also referred to the stories I heard during my earlier years regarding this important subject. I made notes of all these oral reports, while their impression on my mind had not been blunted by the lapse of time. I waited for a long time before publishing this significant cause of the great rebellion in order to see whether there could be a corroboration for such a view.

In the recently published "The Reminiscences of the great Mutiny" by William Forbes Mitchell, the author tells us one other important thing which it may be worth while to notice carefully :—

(a) He corroborates our view by mentioning that some Russians and Turks held commands of the rebel forces.

(b) He further assures us that Nana Saheb Peshwa of Cawnpore had no intention whatever of massacring the English ladies and officers in his protection. He adds that Nana Saheb was prevailed upon to commit this astrocious act by the urgent and pressing solicitations of a Mussalman girl and Azim-ulla Khan.

Who was this Azim-ulla Khan? Was he a Turkish officer or an Indian Mussalman? We

have placed before our readers the views of a mutiny veteran, views which corroborate the opinions we have long entertained about these important points. We have always believed that Russia and Turkey must have had some share in the rise of the Mutiny. Such a belief was created by the stories the present writer had frequently heard during his earlier years from the lips of old Jamadars and Sepoys in the service of his father when he held offices under the Gwalior Government.

In fact even now there may be found a few dozens of old people in Upper India to whom the events of Mutiny are like an occurrence of yesterday. Of course these people tell much nonsense from which truth must be weaned like wheat from chaff.

We conclude this by mentioning here the belief of several men that Nana Saheb went, after his fortune was worsted, to Roomsham (Constantinople) and thence proceeded to St. Petersburg in Russia. Some writers of Indian History say that the Nana went to the Nepal Jungles where he perished. But we have often heard that Nana was maintained in due dignity at Constantinople and then at St. Petersburg. Some day more light may be thrown on this important point.

The following extract from "Where three Empires meet" a work from the pen of Mr. B. F. Knight, would go to show that Russian schemes about India date from remote times, and that there is a likelihood that what we have written above regarding Russian's part in the Indian Mutiny of 1857 is not without foundation. But in spite of this, there is no doubt that Russia had, one way or the other, something at least to do with the revolt of 1857:—

"Captain Gromchestsky undoubtedly left an impression in the valley that the Russians were ready to help the Kanjutees against us, for after the fighting was over, and we were on friendly terms with our recent foes, they used frequently to tell us that they would never have fought us had it not been for the Russians who had deceived them and left them in the lurch."

The above mentioned details would go to show that the secret design of Russia about India dates from very remote times and that it is within the pale of possibility that some truth must lie in the view advocated by us and supported by Mr. Mitchell.

Before concluding our remarks on this subject, we place before our readers a brief

account of the Afghan Mission that was sent to Gwalior in 1839. Dost Mohomed, the Ameer of Afghanistan and the inveterate foe of the English, had sent a mission to Maha-Rajah Jankoji Rao Scindia of Gwalior for soliciting His Highness' aid. The mission arrived in 1839 at Gwalior and formally announced their advent to the Maharajah who at once issued orders to arrest the envoys of the Ameer of Cabul and hand them over to the British Resident at Gwalior. This occurred only about 18 years before the actual outbreak of the Mutiny and it is well known that the Ameer was most unfriendly to the British cause and a secret friend of the Russians, who have always cast a greedy eye upon India and who had been for a long time carrying on their intrigues through the Ameer.

Lord Roberts supplies a solid proof for such a theory in his "Forty one years in India' by giving very interesting and valuable details about the movements of Azim-ulla Khan in Europe and his deep-laid intrigues with the European powers. He says that Azim-ulla Khan, the confidential Agent of the Peshwa, remained 3 years in Europe and was everywhere treated as a Royal Prince. Azim-ulla visited Paris and Constantinople and was also

for a time in Crimea. Some letters in Azim-ulla's hand-writing addressed to Omar Pasha at Constantinople were found in the Peshwa's palace. These letters told of the sepoy's discontent and the troubled state of India generally.

Mr. Karmarkar, who was a long time in the service of the Peshwa knew a great deal about Azim-ulla's movements in Europe for securing the aid of European powers for his master, the Peshwa. After the final downfall of the Peshwa's power, this gentleman passed many a year in poverty but eventually obtained an appointment in the Vijayanagar Raj.

Mr. Karmarkar met me at Jaipore in 1892 when his age was close upon seventy. He gave a graphic account of those dreadful times and also of Azim-ulla. He strongly averred that Nana Saheb was able to secure the aid of Roos. He even said that the Peshwa was alive in 1892.

It would thus be seen that all these circumstances, combined and considered together, justify us in saying that we stand practically on the *terra-firma of tangible evidence* in believing that Russia and Turkey indirectly fomented the rise of the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

Russia and Afghanistan.

"The recent arrest of Colonel Yate by the Afghans is regarded by the "Novoe Vremya" as substantial evidence that the Ameer is acting with greater energy than his father; and it observes that the Ameer's aspirations to complete independence should undoubtedly be encouraged by Russia. "This end, however," the journal proceeds, "can only be attained by the establishment of direct relations between the Russian authorities in Turkestan and the Ameer's Court. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the time will at last come when we shall have an official representative at Kabul, and then an end will be put to the present absurd inaccessibility of the Afghan frontiers to all Russian subjects without exception."

The above paragraph is taken from the "Times of India." It embodies the views of "Novoe Vremya" the Semi-Official Newspaper in Roos. More on this point is unnecessary. It is enough to show unequivocally how the Russian schemes are still going on with, of course, the ultimate aim of obtaining a footing in India.

Chapter XII.

His Resignation.

A careful study of Dinkar Rao's life and his labours in the cause of introducing reforms in Gwalior in spite of the overwhelming force of opposition will convince a fair-minded reader that his path was beset with great obstacles. How he acquitted himself of the difficult task is now well known to all, well known to the world at large. But a wounded pride leaves a great sting behind. Such was the case with Dinkar Rao's opponents. Their pride was wounded. They had to submit to his strict and upright methods of administration and they were eagerly pouring poison into the Maharajah's ears ever since His Highness attained majority and was invested with the powers of administering the state affairs. These men painted Dinkar Rao in as black a colour as they could. For a long time these sinister attempts were not attended to. But the greater the disregard of the Mahâjarah to these men's counsels, the stronger

became their determination to devise new methods for destroying the Minister's influence. Every art was used. The Maharajah, a proud Mahratta Prince in the prime of his youth, was even told to his face that the Dewan was the real master and the Maharajah a mere puppet in his hands. These frequent attempts, repeated every now and then and by every possible means, began ultimately to gain ground. The Maharajah endeavoured to check the minister's powers unreasonably or to put other harassing conditions upon the performance of the official duties. For some time such a state of tension continued between the august master and the honest minister. At last, however, the crisis came. The Minister was, as the Maharajah afterwards frequently confessed, a man, high-minded and grave, unused to insults of such kinds. His honesty and uprightness, his assiduity and zeal in his master's work made him feel such a treatment as unnatural. The misunderstanding between the Maharajah and the Dewan deepened day by day, and at last the latter openly spoke of resigning. Often the Resident would interfere in the matter and bring about a reconciliation, for the Resident well knew that the state required the guiding hand of such a Minister

for a time at least. But the poison, poured into the Maharajah's ears, was such as to be above a cure. In high wrath His Highness left Gwalior for Sipri, 30 kôs from the capital, saying "Either Dinker Rao or I would rule in Gwalior." The Dewan at once proceeded to the Maharajah's camp. Though His Highness was in high wrath, the Dewan ushered himself into the royal presence and tendered the resignation of his office, enhancing the effect of such a timely and well-suited action by an opportune speech of a few sentences, couched in the most appropriate terms. The Maharajah was a little appeased. His Highness even went the length of saying that such a hasty resignation was not required. But the Dewan's mind was made up. His decision was the outcome of thought and once made up was never to be withdrawn. After presenting his resignation, the Dewan returned to Gwalior and related to the Resident the account of his trip and the details about the resignation. Every honest man, the Maharajah not excluded, was sorry for such an unworthy termination of the great Dewan's happy and just regime. But tortuous absolutism has produced still worse instances. Though the Maharajah turned out to be one of the best Princes in India

of his time, his youth, inexperience and proud spirit, spurred by the constant attempt of the low favourites surrounding the court, made it impossible for him to take a dispassionate and calm view of the whole matter. While the Maharajah, therefore, deserves at least a word of consideration, the worthless parasites who unfortunately manage to find entrance into a Prince's palace, deserve a wordy condemnation at least at our hands.

Dewan Dinkar Rao at once took three months' leave and proceeded towards Shri Prayag and Kashi, of course with the distant view of choosing a good place for residence on the holy banks of the celestial Ganges. Three months' pilgrimage was a fitting introduction to a life of virtual asceticism, for it should be remembered that after severing his direct connection with the Gwalior administration, the high-minded minister led, more or less, the life of a political recluse, ready to give, if requested, aid in matters of importance but not eager for power or pomp. The simplicity of the Dewan's life has extorted the admiration of several eminent men and even such a fastidious critic as Sir Lepel Griffin has borne an ungrudging testimony to the Dewan's uncommon simplicity and purity.

This praiseworthy trait in his character may perhaps be traced to his firm resolution to lead a retired life so befitting a Hindu of the Hindus in his declining age.

To dwell on this matter any longer is unpleasant. Suffice it to say, that Maharajah Jayaji Rao, one of the best Princes in India of his time, came, though late, to a right understanding of the amount of evil, the evil advisers had brought about, by poisoning his mind about the great Minister. The great Jayaji Rao ever afterwards entertained a sincere regard for his faithful Dewan whose services he frequently utilised in effecting the settlement of intricate questions connected with his State. The Dewan whose fame had already spread far and wide, was at no distant date prevailed upon, in spite of himself, to tender his weighty advice in a more exalted position of public utility in the Supreme Council at Calcutta. It was to some extent, a recognition by the Government of India of the great Dewan's hazardous exertions in improving the Gwalior administration.

Chapter XIII.

In the Viceregal Council.

Thus Dinkar Rao left Gwalior in January 1859. The personal pique of the great Maharajah to which the intriguers and opponents of order frequently appealed, was now free to have its own course. The Minister's assistant Balaji Pant was told to carry on the current duties of Dewan and Ganpat Rao Khurkay, who afterwards shone as Rao Rajah Sir Ganpat Rao Khurkay K. C. S. I. Shumsher Jang Bahadur, was appointed Naib Dewan. Balajipant was a gentleman of ordinary talents, and he did nothing more than walk in the good lines laid down by his chief, the Rao Rajah Dinkar Rao. The shrewd Naib-Dewan however outshone the old Balajipant and soon came to the front, backed as he was by the Maharajah.

Rao Rajah Dinkar Rao fixed his headquarters at Allahabad, the new capital of the N. W. Provinces. The sanctifying vicinity of the celestial Triveni—the confluence of the three sacred rivers, the Ganges, the Yamuna

and the Saraswati, was certainly an important object in the choice of the place. The climate as well as the political importance of the city were also matters worthy of consideration. Here the high-minded minister rested himself for a period of about three years after the ceaseless worry and exacting administrative work in Gwalior. Since 1852 when he came to the Premiership down to 1859 when he resigned, the Dewan knew no rest either of body or of mind. The first three or four years of his Administration were more or less taken up by the terrible catastrophe—the Rebellion of 1857 and the consequent evils which he had to face and subdue. The whole period of his administration was then such as could admit of little or no adequate rest of body or mind. The three years, therefore, that he had been allowed to pass at Prayag in more or less quiet repose, were beneficial to his health. His fame, however, had spread so far and wide as to make it altogether impossible for him to remain unnoticed in obscurity and bereft of political significance. The Resident at Gwalior and the Agent-Governor-General in Central India had already reported to the Government of India about the untoward and unexpected

termination of his happy regime and the highly eminent services the great Minister had rendered both to the British Indian Empire and to the Gwalior Durbar. Lord Canning who knew perfectly well the high value of Sir Dinkar Rao as an administrator, was sorry to hear of the Dewan's undeserved treatment and could not allow the great Dewan to remain without any public appreciation of his great talents. The Viceroy, therefore, offered him a seat in the Supreme Council, an honour then enjoyed only by ruling sovereigns. Beyond the circle of crowned heads, such an honour was not possible for a native of India to attain at that time; nor was it till the regime of Lord Ripon that a native of India, not belonging to the princely class, could obtain a seat in the Viceregal Council. The Native persons who were called upon to enjoy this exalted distinction from 1862 to 1881 were persons like the Maharajah of Patiala, Maharajah Deo Narayen Sing of Benaras, Maharajah Sevai Ramsing of Jaypore and others of the princely class. As an honour, therefore, the elevation of the Rao Rajah to the Supreme Council was in itself quite unique and bespoke the extent of his influence and reputation for ability. Nor was

the work performed by this great Minister unworthy of him, for we must judge him be the standard of ability which then prevailed and not by our own. To campare Dinkar Rao with Mandlik or Kristodas Paul would be like expecting the ability of Mr. Gladstone in Pitt. Every politician must be judged according to the times he belongs to and not by our own. To judge him according to our times and standard would be absolutely unjust and unfair. The Legislative Council of India, which was extended and enlarged under the terms of the New Act of 1861, now made room for three Native members, all men of note and mark. At the time when the change was effected in the Legislative Councils, the native persons who were called upon to adorn the Viceregal Council were persons, requiring more of exalted social and political position than of forensic ability; for the last-mentioned quality had not then come into existence in Native India; at all events it was not so developed as to attract public attention or ensure recognition at the hands of Government. "Young India" was then too young to display such power. It was, therefore, but right that social position and political importance alone were the standards by which the selection could

be made for such honour. But in the case of Dinkar Rao there was something more. Dinkar Rao was certainly a man of great political importance and social position ; but his position and fame rested entirely on his administrative ability and the eminent services rendered by him in 1857 to the Suzerain power and the Gwalior Durbar.

Rao Rajah Dinkar Rao took his seat in the Supreme Council along with the Maharajah of Patiala and Maharajah Deo Narayan Sing of Benaras in 1862. We would only briefly show the amount and nature of the work performed by the Rao Rajah in the Council of Calcutta. It would be enough to convince a fair-minded reader that he was not merely an ornamental appendage to the Council but a member whose originality of thought and native talent deserved attention. Born in times when schools did not exist, brought up in the midst of social and political transition that was convulsing the native society to its bottom, not possessing the advantages of western education which leads to western ideas or methods of political administration, this Native gentleman had to supply all these drawbacks by the force of his innate ability and the great amount of worldly experience

and worldly wisdom which adversity taught him. Life-lore is at least as good as book-lore and it was this Life-lore which enabled Dinkar Rao—the connecting link between the old and the new order of things,—to hold his own in any emergency and to achieve success in any position in which he may be placed. Hence it was that his career as member of the Supreme Council could not be a reproach according to the standard of the age by which such careers are and must of course be judged. Of the three Native Members of the Viceroy's Council in 1861, Sir Dinkar Rao alone possessed originality of thought and administrative ability. More will be known from Appendix (D).

Chapter XIV.

Dholepore.

Raja Dinkar Rao was the first native gentleman who sat in the Viceregal Council, outside the pale of the Princely class. This great distinction,—considered to be unique at that time, still further added to the Dewan's great fame and made him the observed of all observers in India generally and among the Indian Princes particularly. A man, who then enjoyed the privilege of talking and sitting with the "Lat Saheb," was a man worth a sight, one whose hold on the public mind was simply unlimited in British India and who might be literally worshipped in Native States. Such is the awe and reverence with which the name of "Lat Saheb" was received then, and even now it carries with it more or less the same amount of respect and terror, though now a class of men has come into existence under the auspices of the British government and through the potent influence of western education, which by saturating the Indian minds

with western ideas of independencc and equality, has been slowly but surely taking away the old notions from the head of "Young India."

Happily Dewan Dinkar Rao was not merely a big man but a big man with a bigger head. He had indeed an enviable head to contrive wise plans and a strong hand to execute them. His augmented influence, therefore, he could utilise for nobler purposes. As a well-wisher and friend of the Indian Princes, he had to undertake the supervision and reconstruction of the administrative machineries of several important Native States. From what follows, it would be seen that he could not but accept the call of duty. He was known all over India as an eminent administrator and his fame as such compelled him to yield to the urgent pressure which was brought to bear on him by the Maharajahs of Dewas, Rewah and Dholepore, in whose affairs he had to interfere. The urgent appeals of these Maharajahs were more or less seconded by those of the political officers accredited to their courts, and to shirk from such a duty would have been improper, at least against the etiquette which prevails in the aristocratic circle in India.

The first Prince who solicited Dinkar Rao's aid in reforming his state affairs was the Rana of Dholepore, a small but very important principality, which has an historical interest worthy of a cursory notice at least.

Rajah Dhohun Deo Tuar, the founder of this state, and an offshoot of the family reigning at Delhi, resided at Belpur about 1095 A. D. on the banks of the river Chambal, the boundary between Gwalior and Dholepore. This Rajah built a fort in the ravines of the Chambal which still exists. The Jadavs of Kerawli built Dholepore in 1120. A. D. The Dholepore Ranas belong to the Deswali tribe of the Jats and are the descendants of Jethsing who lived in the 10th century at Bairat to the south of the important state of Alwar in Rajputana. He was a vassal of the Tuar kings of Delhi and one of his descendants established himself at Bamroli, where the family enjoyed power for about 172 years, whereupon the then descendant, Rattan Pal Bamroli was ousted from the territory and he found a home in Gwalior. About 1490, the Prince of Gwalior, Rajah Mansing Tuar expelled the Mahomedan governor from Dholepore and reigned there supreme for a long time to come. Singun Deo, fifth in descent from

Rattan Pal Bamroli, obtained Gohud in 1505 in reward from Rajah Mansing Tuar of Gwalior. This made Singun Deo the Rana of Gohud. In 1658, Shah Jahan's sons, seeking a settlement of their claims to the empire by an appeal to arms, fought a battle at Ranka Chabootara, near Dholepore. This family acknowledged the Suzerainty of the Peshwas for a long time. The Peshwa Baji Rao was highly pleased with the Rana. The Mahrattas under Scindia seized Dholepore in 1702 and retained it till 1806, when it was given by the English to Rana Keerat Sing—the ancestor of the present chief—who died in 1835. His son Bhagwant Sing succeeded him. In 1857 Bhagvant Sing rendered good services to the English and saved the lives of several European officers and ladies. His Dewan Deoraj Hansa gave him much trouble. The Dewan attempted in 1862 even to depose Rana Bhagvant Sing, and for this treachery the Rana placed him in custody. There was thus a great deal of disorder and intrigue in the state on account of the refractory spirit of Dewan Deoraj Hansa. How the disorder was removed will be known from the following pages.

The Rajputs are generally a conservative

race and as far as possible they want to set their house in order themselves. The intrigues and treachery of Dewan Deoraj Hansa were too much for the Rana and he could see no other remedy for saving his state and getting rid of the troubles than resorting to the extreme step, more or less unpleasant to a proud Rajput, of inviting an eminent Mahratta statesman to his succor,—a statesman who built his fame and fortune in Gwalior, with the Durbar of which, for very obvious reasons, the Ranas were till recently not on good terms. The great Maharajah Jayaji Rao was privy to this feeling of estrangement between these two neighbouring states. But happily the present Maharajah H. H. Madhorao Saheb G. C. S. I. has extinguished this unnecessary feeling of hostility which was certainly detrimental to the neighbouring Durbars.

The Rana duly informed Rao Raja Dinkar Rao, through his Agents, of his wish to enlist the Minister's potent help in reforming his state. The vigilant Minister, however, before holding out any hopes to the Rana's agents, desired to acquaint himself with the views of the British political officer, Captain C. K. M. Walter, who was in charge of the three states, Bharatpore, Dholepore and Korawlee. He

also broached this subject to Mahrajah Jayaji Rao who had of course no reason to come in the Minister's way of assisting the Rana. This must, however, serve as an indication of the Minister's regard for his august master Maharajah Scindia whose direct as well as indirect consent in such matters was certainly essential both from the moral as well as from the political point of view. Jayaji Rao unhesitatingly gave his consent.

Dinkar Rao proceeded to Bharatpore to have an interview with Captain Walter, whose happy regime in Rajputana is even now gratefully remembered by all the Rajput Princes and Chiefs, and whose sympathetic heart was equalled by a sound judgment and an uninterrupted courtesy in his dealings with the Princes and people of Rajputana. The captain was not only too glad to be informed of Dinkar Rao's readiness in helping the Rana, but he actually went the length of thanking the Vazeer of Gwalior for such a condescension. The Political Agent was fully aware of the Minister's eminent administrative ability and conspicuous services in the Rebellion of 1857, and he expressed his strong conviction that Dholepore would certainly be happier under the Minister's regime. After

a prolonged interview with the political Agent, Dinkar Rao left Bharatpore and intimated to the Rana's Vakeels in attendance upon him (the Minister) to tell the Rana Saheb of his intention to help His Highness in the improvement of the state affairs.

Rao Rajah Dinkar Rao was then appointed with the cordial approval of the Government of India as Superintendent of the Dholepore state. Under the Foreign Department, such appointments are made whenever a state is in debt or disorder owing to the existence and working of forces, which are familiar to those who know anything about the Native States. A Superintendent is generally like a special Political Agent for the state with full powers of administration. Dewan Tatya Gore C. I. E. of Dewas and Munshi Shahmut Alli C. S. I. of Ratlam may be mentioned as cases in point. As long as the disorder exists, the Superintendency continues and afterwards the chief, if capable, is again invested with administrative powers. So it would be seen that Dinkar Rao was not expected to have undertaken a life-long responsibility but only a temporary task at the urgent solicitation of the Rana and the cordial approval of the Government of India.

The Rana was duly informed of the Govern-

ment of India's approval of Dinkar Rao's appointment as Superintendent of the State. Dinkar Rao accordingly visited Dholepore and had a "mulakat" with the Rana. After the exchange of the usual formalities, the Gwalior Vazeer communicated to the Rana Saheb his determination to superintend the state affairs, through his brother Gangadhar Rao Rajvade,—an arrangement with which the Rana and the Political Agent fully complied. According to the arrangement, Gangadhar Rao was to remain at Dholepoore and carry out the instructions of the Rao Rajah, who was to be consulted not only in important but in minor matters as well. Ganghadhar Rao was the younger brother of Dinkar Rao and was employed under the Gwalior Durbar as the Soobha at Jora. His services were accordingly lent to the Dholepore state with the concurrence of Maharajah Scindia. Dinkar Rao instructed his younger brother as to the way in which he was to administer the state and asked him to prepare authentic statements regarding the income and the expenditure etc. of the state, for there was a large debt to the Raj. The first duty of a minister is to place the finances of a state on a sound basis as well as to improve the Judiciary. Reform, there-

fore, in this direction, was undertaken. Other branches of the administration were also attended to. Intrigues and plots were put down with a strong hand, and the partisans of Dewan Deo Hansa prevented absolutely from working any further mischief and chaos.

It is perhaps not within the scope of this work to enter into any more details as regards the salutary changes introduced into the administration of the Dholepore Principality. In due time the misrule terminated The Rana acknowledged the help given by the Superintendent, and in a Durbar, specially held for the purpose, thanks were publicly given to Sir Dinkar Rao for this great work. It is generally believed that the Rao Rajah had to take much trouble in the matter of reforming the state affairs and as a grateful acknowledgment of these services, an adequate Jahageer was offered to him, but he firmly declined to accept anything saying that the Rana might give it to Dewan Gangadhar Rao Rajwade if His Highness desired to do so. The Rana then expressed his sincere approval of the eminent services by bestowing a Jahagir on Gangadhar Rao. He also gave a village as a permanent grant to the temple of Shree Ram at Benaras belonging to the Rao Rajah.

A rich reward of pearl necklace, seerpench and killut was conferred on the Rao Rajah before a formal severance of the official connection between the State and the eminent Superintendent took place.

Before the expiry of a long interval, this veteran administrator was requested by another and a more important State for the amelioration of the deplorable condition of its affairs. Rewa was in chaos and Dinkar Rao was prevailed upon to go there as the following pages will show.

Chapter XV.

Rewah is the capital of Baghelkhand and the state is far more important than any other Rajput Principality in Central India. It forms a part of the kingdom known as Kalinga in ancient times. The history of this state is of much interest and it is said that a detailed account of the past events and occurrences is carefully preserved by this Durbar. Bilgar Deo, the founder of the kingdom, relinguished his claim to his Chief-ship in Deccan in 580 A.D., and undertook a pilgrimage to the north, apparently with the distant view of founding a state in Upper India and in this he partly succeeded. In 615 A.D. his son Karan Dev succeeded him as Ruler of the State. His was a more fruitful career. He conquered all the territory that now forms the Rewah State. After the fall of the Mughals, the Rewah Raj acknowledged the Suzerainty of the Peshwa, though virtually it was independent. After the fall of the Mahratta Empire, Rewah acknowledged the suzerainty of the English and concluded a treaty with the

British Governor-General in 1814. Raghuraj Sing succeeded Vishwanath Sing in 1834, and it is with Raghuraj Sing that we have to deal in this narrative.

During the reign of Maharajah Raghunath Sing, the Baghelas seem to have given much trouble to the ruling power. The instinctive love for plunder and dacoity is always uppermost in the breasts of untrained and uneducated scions of warlike classes, when they have no outlet for their energy. This was to some extent true as regards the conduct of the then Baghelas. The Dewan was helpless in effecting an improvement and his hold on the Rajput mind was completely lost. The influence of this undesirable situation did produce its inevitable consequences, leading chiefly to administrative stand-still and the violation of law. A circumstance also occurred at this time, which deserves a serious study and which was the cause that led to the consideration of speedy measures for the removal of this chaos and confusion. Baghelkhand Political Agency was formed at this time and the Pol. Agent came to know all about the misrule and advised the Durbar to mend matters as soon as they could.

Under such circumstances, the position of a

native prince, aware of the burden of responsibility on his shoulders and keenly alive to the interests and welfare of his people, is very serious indeed. If the prince is a man of self-respect and good sense, he is reduced to an extremely unwelcome situation of mind as well as of body. The turbulent element in the state cannot be suppressed, much less extirpated, without the powerful help of an influential and well-meaning administrator. If such an able man could be found in the state itself, all well and good. But if unfortunately an administrator of such capability is not to be found in the state, the prince naturally becomes still more depressed. Such occurrences at times take place in small as well as in large states. The illustrious Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar was compelled, in obedience to the pressure brought to bear on him on all sides, to entertain the services of a Dewan of Sir T. Madho Rao's type in 1874 and a few years ago, people had heard that the Dewan of Mysore Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer was going to be appointed in succession to the Nawab Sir Asman Jah, when the Hyderabad matters had reached a critical state and the treasury was reported to be empty. The Pol. Agent has at such times an exceedingly difficult posi-

tion. If he turns a deaf ear to the series of complaints about misrule, he is a victim to unpopularity ; if he reports to the higher powers for adopting extreme measures, he is also a victim to unpopularity or is sometimes likely to be overruled and told to mend matters without creating an unpleasant situation. Such was more or less the condition of the Rewah affairs at that time. Such is the difficulty of the Political Agent.

In such a critical plight the Maharajah Raghunath Sing had been placed on account of the refractory spirit of his Bhaiyats and the incompetency of his Dewan. It was certainly natural that at such a crisis, the Maharajah should have been put in mind of the eminent Minister of Gwalior, the successful member of the Viceregal Council, who had, within a brief period set the Dholepore State in order in spite of the portentous hindrances standing in the way. This thought gave some relief to the Maharajah's troubled mind, almost demented by anxiety and sleepless nights ; for how could he get sleep when his whole house was in mismanagement and confusion? The Maharajah sent his agents to Rao Rajah Dinkar Rao with an urgent message. The agents waited upon the Rao Rajah and duly

communicated to him their master's wishes. But it was always a fixed policy of Dinkar Rao to ascertain the views of the Political Officer accredited to the state before undertaking anything about its affairs. Accordingly the Minister told the Maharajah's agents that unless the Resident was previously consulted he was unable to give any decided reply. The agents returned and related what had transpired to the Maharajah, who thereupon wrote to the Agent—Governor-General for Central India about the matter. General Sir Henry Daly was at this time at the head of the Central Indian Agency and to him the Maharajah's letter afforded the greatest satisfaction, for General Daly was perfectly acquainted with the high talents and the rare administrative ability of Rajah Dinkar Rao. The kind-hearted General was also a sincere friend of the worthy Dewan, as would be known from the coming pages. The A.G.G. fully approved of the Maharajah's resolution to entrust the care and management of his State to Dinkar Rao and wrote to the Political Agent accordingly.

The correspondence and telegraphic messages relating to these affairs need not be given here in detail. It is enough for our purpose to

know that the appointment of Dinkar Rao to the Rewah State was now almost agreed upon. General Daly informed the Rao Rajah of his satisfaction at seeing that the latter had undertaken to help the Maharajah of Rewah out of his difficulty. The details about this matter were to be settled during personal interviews, as the Maharajah and General Daly were shortly to proceed to Allahabad to attend the Grand Exhibition held in that city during the incumbency of Sir William Muirs as Lieutenant Governor of the N. W. Provinces.

As previously arranged, the Maharajah, Rao Rajah and general Daly met at Allahabad during the course of the Exhibition and the veteran Gwalior Dewan undertook the administration of the Rewah Raj The Agent-Governor-General advised the Maharajah to pay due heed to the position of the Rao Rajah Dinkar Rao as well as to do all that lay in H. H. power to help the Minister in his onerous duties. Shortly after this, Dinkar Rao proceeded to Rewah and his reception was with due pomp and splendour.

On assuming the reins of the Rewah Government, Sir Dinkar Rao directed his attention to the reform in the Revenue department.

The peasantry were, as was the case in

Gwalior, rack-rented and there was no check to the greed of the Collectors of the revenues of the State. Sir Dinkar Rao ordered a wholesale Patbandy (which is the same as Jamabandy) of the Raj.

The assessment was made with generosity and justice. The amount of dues to be paid by the Zamindar to the State was fixed for a settled period and the peasantry was distinctly told that they were to pay not a farthing more than the amount specified in the pattas (leases). This done, half the evil passed away, for it is always to be found in Indian States that the chief source of evil is in the way in which the peasantry, the main prop of the Indian population, are treated. There may be, as there certainly are, other sources of evil ; but the treatment of the cultivating class is always the chief factor in the misrule of all backward native states. After surmounting this anomaly the path of further progress was greatly facilitated. The Government assessment, due from the Zamindars, being fixed in amount, was to be paid by them to the state in periodical instalments (Kistabandi). The whole state was divided, for administrative purposes, into eight Sub-Districts, and competent Revenue and Judicial officers were appointed.

Much of the system of administration introduced in the Raj resembled that introduced in Gwalior a few years ago, and the laws and regulations were more or less the same as contained in the famous Dastur-ul-Umal. Thus within a few months the element of mal-administration were got rid of and a happy beginning for a good regime was made.

The total revenues of the State amounted to about twenty lakhs. Half of this was portioned out to the Bhayyats, the kinsmen to the Maharajah and the noblemen. The other half was then utilised for purposes of the State. About two lakhs of this were absorbed by the civil administration; the palace received three lakhs; four lakhs were to be disbursed on the state army and one lakh was to be kept as reserve fund in the state exchequer. This was certainly a very equitable distribution of the state revenues, though it must be mentioned *enpassant* that ten lakhs for the Bhayyats or King's Kinsmen must be an exhorbitant burden on the State. But Sir Dinkar Rao was too noble to appoint an Inam Commission! Having so far assisted the Maharajah, the Rao Rajah severed his official relations with the State. Sir Dinkar Rao's

work in the reformation of the Rewah affairs was acknowledged by the Maharajah Raghunathsing as well as the Government of India with thanks. The Maharajah, as is the custom in the native states on such occasions, conferred a rich dress of honour with other marks of honour on the Rao Rajah and expressed his deep indebtedness to the veteran Dewan for all the troubles he had taken on his behalf. It is said, the Maharajah even went the length of taking a trip to Allahabad, 111 miles from Rewah, for the sole purpose of thanking the Rao Rajah, who lived now at Agra and now at Allahabad, for his most opportune help to the Rewah Raj at a time when it was badly needed, in the interests of the welfare of the State. Rewah still remembers the good days of the Dewan's benign administration.

Chapter XVI.

The Baroda Commission.

Maharajah Khanderao Gaekwad, the powerful ruler of Baroda, died in 1870 after a rule of about 14 years. He had succeeded his elder brother Ganpat Rao Gaekwad and he was now succeeded by his younger brother Malhar Rao Gaekwad with whose career the subject of this narrative is inseparably connected.

A few words about Malhar Rao Maharajah would not be deemed a digression. In 1863 Malhar Rao had, it is alleged, attempted to poison his elder brother, the ruling Gaekwad Khande Rao Maharajah, who, coming to know somehow of the criminal intention, placed Malhar Rao in custody at Padra. After the death of Khandeo Rao, the British Political Resident, accredited to the Baroda Durbar, released Malhar Rao and placed him on the Gaekwar Musnad on condition that if Jumnabhai, Maharani of the late Khande Rao, who was pregnant at the time, should give birth to a

male child, the succession of Malhar Rao should be cancelled. Jamnabai gave birth to a daughter and thus the claims of Malhar Rao to the throne were confirmed. Now it must be remembered that this Prince had little or no aptitude for turning out a good ruler. Although there must be some exaggeration in the reports spread about Malhar Rao, it is recognised on all hands that Malhar Rao was a lewd Prince of no competency. He surrounded himself by low favourites of the type of Balvantrao Rahurkar, the Prince's Prime Minister. This regime began and ended in misrule. Complaints were made repeatedly by the subjects to the paramount power setting forth heavy charges against the Prince and his councillors. At last a commission was appointed in 1873 to inquire into the petitions lodged against the Durbar. After a searching enquiry, the commission sent its report about the state of the Baroda affairs in the month of March 1874. The Government of India after receiving the report, allowed the Prince a period of probation of about eighteen months during which he was to set his house in order. The Prince was warned that if after the expiry of the period, the state affairs continued still to be in disorder, the Prince

would be visited with the severest punishment —dethronement.

This warning seems to have been received with little or no heed. At this very time, the Prince celebrated his nuptials with a woman, his mistress, named Laxmibai, who, within 5 months of her marriage, gave birth to a son. This birth of an heir-apparent was celebrated with great eclat and the Resident was invited to take part in it. The British representative, however, honoured neither this occasion nor the one antecedent to it with his presence—an important episode worth remembering in a Native State.

Such was the condition of affairs at the Gaekwar's court, when Colonel Phayre reported to the Government about the Prince's endeavours in poisoning the Resident. Only seven days before this, the Gaekwar had sent a Khalita, dated 2nd November 1874, soliciting the transfer of Colonel Phayre from the Baroda Presidency. The Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, whose generosity and sympathy with the Indian people can never be forgotten, came to the decision that as long as Colonel Phayre was at Baroda, the friction between the Resident and the Durbar would certainly continue. His Excellency, therefore, appoint-

ed Sir Louis Pelly to the Baroda Residency and ordered an enquiry into the alleged charge of poisoning the late Resident. It was believed that the enquiry would be burked if Malhar Rao were still on the throne and consequently the Prince was deposed until the result of the enquiry was out.

Sir Lewis Pelly issued a proclamation announcing that there existed a strong suspicion about Malhar Rao Maharajah's attempt to poison Calonel Phayre, that the charge would be gone into before a High Commission and that the Mahratta rule would be continued in Baroda irrespective of the result of the enquiry. This was followed by another proclamation, setting forth the charges on which the enquiry was to proceed. The alleged charges set forth in the proclamation were four in number.

The High Commission, which was appointed to conduct the enquiry, consisted of the following members, all men of note and mark and eminently fitted by their august position to try an august criminal.

(1) Sir Richard Couch. Kt. Chief Justice of the Bengal Presidency.

(2) His Highness Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia. G. C. S. I., G. C. B., C. I. E.

(3) H. H. Maharajah Sawai Ransingji of Jeypore.
(4) Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao. K. C. S. I.
(5) General Sir Richard Meade. K. C. S. I.
(6) Mr. Melville, Bengal Civil Service.

Mr. Jardine of Bombay served as secretary of this Commission.

Though Malhar Rao might not have been a good ruler, it was but right that he had every right to be defended against the charges preferred against him. His trial evoked universal sympathy not only in Bombay and Poona but almost all over India. The Gaekwar is a Sovereign Prince of great fame. He enjoys a salute of 21 guns along with the Maharajah of Mysore and the Nizam. Even the distant parts of India know much of this royal dynasty. Such a Prince was now under trial, and the popular sympathy was on his side in spite of his misrule and other faults. The leading men of Bombay and Poona, especially the celebrated patriot Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi, threw themselves heart and soul into this matter of great political importance. An influential meeting was held at Poona and a memorial was sent to his Excellency the Viceroy, asking for justice and fair play in the case of the much maligned Malhar Rao

Gaekwar, and suggesting certain details as to the constitution of the Commission. It is said that the trial of Malhar Rao Gaekwar had excited as much interest as did the famous imbroglio at Kolhapore, of which so much is already well known. But there was a world-wide difference between the political commotions which took place in Kolhapore and Baroda. But notwithstanding this difference, the sympathy of the people still lay on the side of the Gaekwar, whose fallen cause such an illustrious and disinterested patriot as G. W. Joshi had zealously espoused and energetically supported even at the sacrifice of considerable personal expense. India seldom saw such a spectacle full of serene sadness and dismal grandeur.

Mr. (afterwards Sir Frank) Souter was entrusted with the task of formally getting up the case against the Gaekwar. The Advocate-General, Mr. Andrew Scoble, conducted the prosecution, while the defence of the unfortunate Prince was carried on most satisfactorily by an eminent barrister from England, Mr. Sergeant Ballantyne, assisted by native pleaders, from Bombay and instructed by Messrs. Jefferson and Paine solicitors. It is believed that energetic measures were adopted

on both the sides to ensure success. While the indefatigable Mr. Souter left no stone unturned in investigating the case, the celebrated lawyer Mr. Ballantyne also left nothing to be desired, so far as legal and forensic ability were concerned.

The High Commission was attended with grandeur and magnificence. It was to the common people worth a sight, for two great Princes were on the Commission and their presence was in itself a great thing. Their arrival and departure were attended with the bustle of a splendid retinue and booming of guns, the Guards of Honour presenting arms etc.

The Commission began its business on the 23rd of February 1875 in a magnificent building in the Residency. The accused Prince was provided with a seat on the dais and he watched the proceedings, with a mournful gravity. It may well be conjectured that the Rao Rajah Dinkar Rao was especially active throughout the course of the enquiry; for he was well acquainted with judicial proceedings and consequently took every trouble to consult law, equity, experience and common sense, all of which had to be brought to bear on such a novel enquiry, the first and we pray God it

may be the last—of its kind in India. H. H. Maharajah Ramsingji evinced an almost unexpected independence of character and an uncommon knowledge of judicial affairs for a great prince of his type. H. H. Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia followed a middle course. His Highness took every necessary precaution to study the case, but beyond that H. H. did not trouble himself. The enquiry occupied a period of about five weeks and terminated on the 31st of March with the result that the three European members found the Gaekwar guilty of all charges and the three native members found the Prince not guilty. We have no reason to go in details connected with the enquiry. We would see with somewhat of details the views of the members regarding the share of the Prince in the charges preferred against him.

To Sir Dinkar Rao is due, we believe, the credit of having saved the Prince from an atrocious crime. Though Malhar Rao was weak, he was not, it is alleged, wicked nor had he made for himself a great name for wanton crulety. Yet the Prince's danger was not gone. A proclamation announced to the whole of India that Malhar Rao was to be deposed for misrule (on the 19th of April) and deported

to Madras by a special train where the unfortunate Gaekwar died on the 20th of July 1882. This Baroda affair presents several important phases of political administration worthy of serious study, but here we have nothing to do with it. We have to see what influence, direct as well as indirect, Sir Dinkar Rao exercised on this important matter. It is well known that had Sir Dinkar Rao had less regard for independence of opinion, he would easily have sided with the three dissenting members and thus paved the way for his being entrusted with the responsible work of administering the Baroda State during the minority of the next Gaekwar. But we have seen that the great Dewan was always fond of obeying the dictates of his own noble conscience, regardless of any advantages pecuniary or otherwise. The present occasion still further bears out our statement. Had Sir Dinkar Rao put a pressure upon the dictates of his fair conscience he could also have easily succeeded in persuading his master to give an opinion prejudicial to the name of a fair-minded person. But neither the tempting prospects of being appointed an administrator, looming in the near future, nor the fear of incurring the silent displeasure of some

of his friends, deterred him from saying that in his opinion the Gaekwar was not guilty. Men in Dinkar Rao's position have always one advantage on their side. They have never the least chance of ever exposing themselves to the displeasure of government; for the government of India know well that it was impossible for government to be displeased with that veteran Minister, who was always a friend of justice and order and had the honour of enjoying the fame of being one of the three Native Ministers, who have been considered as three of the saviours of India in 1857.

Mr. Sergeant Ballantyne, who defended the accused Maharajah Malhar Rao Gaekwar with such conspicuous ability and tact, writes much that will be interesting to our readers in his excellent book on the subject. The worthy barrister's trenchant remarks regarding the Baroda affairs must have created a good deal of consternation in the Indian political centres. We have, however, not much to do with what he says, regarding the merits of the case, for, it is beyond the scope of our work to pass a judgment on the case or to go into details with a view to fathom the reasons why such a thing took place. The appreciative remarks which he makes regarding the Maharajah Jayaji Rao

are entitled to a careful perusal. We will also give in the famous barrister's own words a few extracts to show what the Government of India (Lord Northbrook and his councillors) thought about Colonel Phayre, the principal accused, or at any rate the person whose reports led the Government of India to take steps against the Gaekwar of Baroda. With regard to Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia Mr. Ballantyne speaks as follows: "A guard of infantry and a troop of lancers did no more honour than is due to Maharajah Scindia, the great Mahratta potentate, the tried and trusted friend of England. His appearance was such as to command respect in any country and I cannot deny myself the pleasure of copying a few words of description taken from an admirably conducted paper—'*The Times of India*'—of what it presented on this eventful day: 'Burly and Princely, an oriental Harry the Eight in outward appearance.' The writer might have added "before the English Monarch had impressed upon his features the marks of gross self-indulgence, selfishness and cruelty. For Scindia's is a countenance noble and pleasant to look upon."

Further on the great lawyer speaks about Colonel Phayre, to whom the Mahratta Prince

Malhar Rao owed all his disgrace and ultimate dethronement, in this manner :—"In March, Colonel Phayre was appointed Resident at Baroda. He was fussy, meddlesome, and thoroughly injudicious. There were two adverse parties in the state, and instead of holding himself aloof from both, he threw himself violently into that, opposed to the Gaekwar, and greedy to listen to every accusation and complaint that with equal eagerness was gossiped into his ears. His annoyance and constant slight to the Gaekwar were such that a despatch was sent by the latter to the Government in temperate and judicious terms, praying for his removal and its date is most material—namely *November 2, 1864*, seven days before the alleged final attempt at poisoning, but almost if not quite contemporaneous with the alleged tampering with servants." These words of the great barrister are presented to the reader in order to enable him to understand why Maharajah Jayaji Rao, Ramsing and Sir Rajah Dinkar Rao found the Gaekwar quite innocent of the imputations brought against his character.

The following footnote which occurs in Mr. Ballantyne's book will still more convince our readers that not only H. H. Jayaji

Rao, Ramsing and Dinkar Rao, but even the Government of India had some doubt as to the honesty of intention of those who were loud in their denunciations of the Gaekwar Malhar Rao.

"The words used by Lord Northbrook" says Mr. Ballantyne "to Colonel Phayre when dismissing him from his post were 'That he had thoroughly misunderstood the spirit of the instructions both of the Government of India and the Government of Bombay, and that the duty of Resident could no longer be entrusted to him with any reasonable prospect of a satisfactory result." These extracts would quite suffice to enable our reader to arrive at a general opinion as to the merits of the case and to show that the judgments given by the Maharajahs of Gwalior and Jeypore and Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao were neither rhapsodical nor unsuited to the occasion. What the opinions of Jayaji Rao and Dinkar Rao were would be known from tha Report of the Commission in detail. It would indeed be highly aggreeable to the reader to know that the opinions of the Maharajah and his Minister were in direct consonance with the opinion delivered by one of the most famous lawyers of the time—a barrister who had no other object in

view than that of ascertaining the truth, while bent on defending his client, the accused prince Malhar Rao Gaekwar, to whom inspite of the maltreatment of his servants and subjects, dethronement was certainly the most severe and unexpected punishment.

There was a loud cry against the misgovernment in Baroda during Malhar Rao's short regime. The nature of the misgovernment which had taken place may be gathered from the fact that the Gaekwar was authoritatively advised to adopt measures relative to the future treatment of the relations and servants (dependents) of his late brother; to the realisation of revenue; the prevention and punishment of torture; the regulation of penalties in criminal cases; the spoliation of bankers and trading firms; the corporal punishment and personal ill-treatment of women and their abduction for forced service in the palace. From this the reader may gather an idea of the misrule which was alleged to be rampant in Baroda. There is always another side to a question as put forth by one party before the public; what the other side had to say was fully said by a well-known writer Rao Saheb Deo of Baroda. That there was misrule, no impartial person can venture to deny.

The only question that arises for controversy is regarding the punishment dealt out to Malhar Rao Gaekwar. But these are matters which concern in no way the present writer and may well be left to those who desire to discuss this subject exhaustively in order to arrive at a decision on this point.

Here ends the tale of Malhar Rao's misfortunes. After his deposition and deportation, Jamunabai adopted a child, the present enlightened ruler, who succeeded to the Musnad. Sir T. Madho Rao, of Travancore fame, was called from Indore and appointed Administrator of the state. The state under the present Maharajah is thriving and reforms in all directions are advancing by rapid strides. Great credit is certainly due to H. H. Sayaji Rao Gaekwad for such a benign regime.

Chapter XVII.

In this chapter we intend to dwell upon some of the important events with which Sir Dinkar Rao was connected in one way or the other. Some of these events are of local interest only, of interest only to the inhabitants of Gwalior, while others are inseparably connected with the History of India generally. These episodes, in the life of this eminent statesman, will be of great service in showing the extent of Sir Dinkar Rao's influence during the latter half of the last century.

1876—H. R. H. Prince of Wales.

H. R. H. Prince of Wales paid a prolonged visit to India during the year 1875-76. Previous to his coming to India, the Prince had suffered from an alarming illness and his recovery to good health was an occasion of great rejoicing throughout India and England. The visit of the heir—apparent to the British throne was marked with a befitting outburst of loyalty among all classes of the Indian people and especially among the Princes of India. The reception which H. R. H. received

at Gwalior from H. H. Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia was perhaps the most magnificent, though of course all Princes did their best according to their means and resources. It was at Agra that H. R. H. received Sir Dinkar Rao with every mark of courtesy and kindness. The interview between the Prince and Sir Dinkar Rao lasted for a long time and H. R. H. showed to the Veteran Minister every mark of royal appreciation of the eminent statesman's conspicuous services to the Indian Empire. The Prince of Wales presented a large book, Louis Rouselet's 'Indian Princes' with the following inscription on it,—"To His Excellency Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao with the kind regards of Albert Edward."

1877. The Imperial assemblage at Delhi took place in the cold season of 1877. The British Queen assumed the title of the Empress of India on this grand occasion. Delhi, the ancient Hastinapore where ancient Hindu Sovereigns held sway and where the Mughals had fixed the head-quarters of their Empire, was chosen as a befitting site for the Imperial Assemblage. All the Princes and the leading Native gentlemen of the different parts in India were invited to take part in the grand Darbars that were held there in order to pro-

claim Queen Victoria as the Empress of India. The grandeur and splendour of the occasion surpasses every other assemblage that has taken place in India under the British Rule* On such an occasion Sir Dinkar Rao, it need scarcely be mentioned, was duly invited. Rao Rajah Dinkar Rao received the great title of Musheer-i-Khas Bahadur as a personal distinction, though afterwards this title was made hereditary along with that of Rao Rajah during the regime of Lord Ripon. Sir Dinkar Rao had, on this occasion, the rare opportunity of coming across many of his old friends all of whom, on account of their exalted position, were present there *en masse*. It was at this time that Salar Jung had the Joy of a personal interview with Sir Dinkar Rao.

What an exalted place Sir Dinkar Rao held in the estimation of the Viceroy and how the representative of the Queen Empress valued the Dewan's opinion about the Delhi assemblage may be gathered from Lady Beatty Balfour's "Life of Lord Lytton" (Vide Appendix A.)

1865. Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia had adopted a child in 1865 and named him Ranoji

* The Delhi Assemblage of 1903 was, however, on a still larger and more imposing scale,

Rao. This child turned out very mischievous and signalised his short-lived career as heir-apparent of the Gwalior Raj by taking part in plots and intrigues against his sovereign and father, Maharajah Jayaji Rao. Sir Dinkar Rao's services were availed of by the Maharajah and the adoption was cancelled after a great deal of trouble, mental as well as physical. This event proves conclusively that the Maharajah had every confidence in his late Minister. The joy of Maharajah Jayaji Rao was unbounded when H. H. saw that the adoption was cancelled by the Government of India.

1885. The rendition of the Gwalior fort took place in 1885. But long before this, since the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1876 or even a little earlier, the Maharajah had expressed a strong desire to get back the Fortress at any cost. Sir Dinkar Rao was entrusted with the task of having this ambition fulfilled. Through the influential aid of this illustrious statesman as well as the unswering loyalty of the Gwalior state, this desire of the Maharajah was duly fulfilled during the Vice-royalty of Lord Dufferin who visited Gwalior in 1885, and personally told H. H. that the Government of India were glad to meet with

the wishes of the Gwalior Durbar in this respect. In 1886 there was universal rejoicing in Gwalior in honour of the restoration of the Fortress to Gwalior ; but a serious mistake was, in our opinion, made by the Gwalior Vakeel at the time of the exchange of Districts;—Zansi, which the Government of India had conferred as a reward on the Gwalior Ruler, was allowed to be exchanged for the Bhandare District through the shortsightedness of the Gwalior Vakeel Shohun Lal.

Once it happened that the Maharajah ordered his army to be ready at an inconvenient hour in the night. The object of this was to attack Gopal Rao Govind, an officer of the Durbar, who had delivered a long sermon to the Maharajah about introducing reforms in the state The Resident as well as the General commanding the forces at Morar could not understand the reason of this extraordinary procedure. The matter, however, was hushed up through the intercession of Sir Dinkar Rao.

1877-78. During the great famine of this year, the operations, which were undertaken in connection with the relief of the famine-striken people flocking to Gwalior from all parts of India, were more or less planned on

the suggestion of Sir Dinkar Rao who was duly consulted by H. H. Maharajah Scindia.

1872. Not only Gwalior but the whole of India was startled by the announcement that the Nana saheb of Cawnpore had appeared in Gwalior. The news-papers as usual made much of this groundless report. The real facts of this case are not worthy of any importance. Yet the name of Nana commanded terror and a searching enquiry was undertaken. The Maharajah's conduct in this matter was solely guided by the counsel of Sir Dinkar Rao. After a full enquiry it was found that the so called "Nana" was a person of unsound mind in search of a living.

Once upon a time the Maharajah proceeded with a body of armed troops to wreak vengeance on a certain wealthy person, then living in the British territory. This person had given some insult to the Maharajah and hence arose the cause of trouble. Jayaji Rao was not a Prince to quietly pocket an insult from an insignificant man of such an irreverant spirit. The man had more or less defied Scindia's power. This was more than bearable. With a few chosen comrades, armed cap-a-pie, His Highness rode off to the place, attacked his dwelling, gave the badmash a sound thrashing

and returned unnoticed before the break of day. Through the faithful Dewan's help, the Maharajah was successful in hushing up the whole unpleasant affair.

We have placed, before our readers, a sufficient number of important events, with which Sir Dinkar Rao was intimately connected. They go to show what a mighty influence he possessed. In these days it is even impossible for a native to imagine how the illustrious Dewan could have wielded such a power; much less possible it is now for a native to possess such weight and importance. The intelligent reader can fathom the cause of these altered conditions and times, and so we need not dwell on this point any longer. We conclude this chapter by remarking that in his days, Sir Dinkar Rao's word carried more weight with the Government of India than that of a Lieutenant Governor or a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

It is well known that on one or two occasions, H. E. the Viceroy had actually solicited Sir Dinkar Rao's opinion in selecting capable officers for the post of the Agent to the Governor General for Central India.

Chapter. XVIII.

Sir Dinkar Rao's contemporaries.

Dinkar Rao wielded a far greater influence abroad than in Gwalior. This is but right, for no man is a hero to his valet. As zealously the aristocratic India ever delighted in lavishing its caresses on Dinkar Rao as the democratic India did in the case of the great Mr. M. G. Ranade. Dinkar Rao was the idol of the Indian Princes: Ranade and Mandlik were the idols of the Indian people. The one had done, when called upon, as much for the people, as the other had done for the Indian Princes. Dinkar Rao made very excellent suggestions in the Viceregal Council regarding measures bearing on the public welfare and Mandlik's powerful pen greatly helped the rendition of Mysore as well as the trial of the unfortunate Malhar Rao Gaekwar of Baroda. We will see how Sir Dinkar Rao was regarded by his eminent contemporaries.

1. H. H. Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar, the energetic Ruler of Indore, always entertain-

ed a very high regard for Dinkar Rao, whom H. H. was kind enough to look upon as a Dada (elder brother). Although intriguers tried to influence H. H.'s good opinion about the great Dewan, Maharajah Holkar never lessened his regard for the Minister. In several important matters, the Maharajah solicited Dinkar Rao's opinions, which the Dewan always readily gave.

2. The Hon'ble Mr. Mandlik C. S. I. about whom we have just spoken, was a great friend of Sir Dinkar Rao. Their spheres of activity, however, lay in diffrent directions and hence it is possible that they might not have a particular admiration for each other, though the present writer can confidently say that both of them entertained a cordial regard for each other throughout their eminent careers. With the Baroda embroglio, the Hon'ble Rao Saheb Mandlik had no direct concern. But he exercised a remarkably significant influence on the trial of the Gaekwar and rendered a valuable assistance to the Dewan Dinkar Rao.

3. Sir Salar Jung of Hyderabad was a great friend of Sir Dinkar Rao. There was one memorable occasion in 1877 on which these two illustrious personages personally met each other at Delhi and at Benares, though their official

acquaintance and intimacy dated so far back as 1858. The meeting was at the time of the Delhi Assemblage when Sir Salar Jung, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad, had been to the Assemblage in charge of the young Nizam. There are many stories current about Dinkar Rao and Salar Jung. Both appreciated the merits of each other and there was a very warm and cordial friendly relation between the two great Ministers. One of the adherents of Sir Dinkar Rao went to Hyderabad. Sir Salar Jung came to know about this and instantly called the man and conferred on him a high appointment, saying that he (Sir Dinkar Rao's adherent) was in every way entitled to his kind regard. On one or two occasions, Sir Dinkar Rao gave letters of introduction to his friends, who had important affairs to be looked after in Hyderabad. Sir Salar Jung treated these letters with sincere regard and always displayed a genuine interest in the welfare of the persons recommended to him by the Dewan of Gwalior

In addition to these, Sir Dinkar Rao had made many other august friends—political friends, for private friends he had and made none—who greatly admired his great abilities.

Maharajah Savai Ramsing of Jeypore, Nawab Kalib Ali Khan of Rampore, Maharajah Jung Bahadur of Nepal, Sardar Sir Deva Sing of Punjab, Sir Madheo Rao, Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi (the great patriot of Poona) and many others had been among the admirers of Sir Dinkar Rao.

Besides Gwalior, the Native States of Dewas Rewah and Dholepore had the direct benefit of Sir Dinkar Rao's counsels in the administration of their states. But truly speaking there were many other states, the Princes of which sought the aid of this illustrious Minister, in the shape of wise advice, in reforming their administration or in attempting to avert a subterranean danger, caused by internal feuds or other causes. On all such occasions the Dewan was most willingly ready with his valuable and most disinterested advice—advice that stood in good stead to those to whom it was offered. It had sometimes transpired that the Dewan was called upon to help some one of the extremely limited circle of private friends and here too his willing aid was never withheld from them. We may take this opportunity of mentioning that the Jahageer of the famous Bhuskute family of Barhanpore benefited greatly by Sir Dinkar

Rao's timely aid. These are however some of the instances.* But in all cases there was one condition, which alone ensured and secured the Dewan's support, viz., the cause must be just and the party interested in the cause must be honourable, for Sir Dinkar Rao had always hated a dishonurable cause as well as a dishonourable man. It was but right that this should be so. The Dewan, who cared little for gain, was ever sensitive to any the least taint of falsehood or dishonour and throughout his long career, he never exposed his fair name to any attack of a base sort even from his enemies, who had to confess that Dinkar Rao's moral grandeur was perfectly unassailable.

We have frequently mentioned the relations existing between Dinkar Rao and his European friends and admirers. We need only say here that Viceroys and Governors, Lieutenant Governors and Agents to the Governor General, felt a pride in doing honour to this great man, who was undoubtedly one of the saviours of the British Indian Empire and the most faithful well-wisher of H. H. Maharajah Jayaji Rao and his kingdom as well as of the Native States in general.

* Through Sir Dinkar Rao's help, the Jog-Kibay family at Indore were able for a long time to maintain their falling influence and fortune.

Chapter XIX.

Dewas.

In 1884 Sir Dinkar Rao was prevailed upon to interfere in the administration of the small principality of Dewas, which deserves its importance more for its relation with the great state of Gwalior and its own historical significance than for its extent in territory or its amount of yearly income. The Powars received this state in Jahageer from the great Baji Rao Peshwa, whose favour and appreciation of services led to the foundation of the other Mahratta states in Central India. The Powars of Dewas and Dhar belong to an ancient Rajput family, residing in Malwa, an offshoot of which found its way to the Deccan and founded a family there. The Dewas State is now divided into two branches, the senior and the junior. Maharajah Krishna Rao Powar was the ruler of the S. D., and His Highness was married to Tara Raja Saheb, the daughter of H. H. Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia. It was on account of the

pressing desire and solicitations of Tara Raja Saheb that Sir Dinkar Rao was induced to take part in the troubles of Dewas. If Sir Dinkar Rao failed in achieving any good during his period of administration, which was carried by the veteran Minister from his head-quarters at Allahabad through an agent located at Dewas, the discredit is certainly not due to any shortcoming on the part of the Minister whose reputation is too well-founded to suffer any abatement from such untoward accidents. The Dewas affair was certainly an accident in the glorious career of the great Dinkar Rao, who from the first well knew the future failure.

In 1873-74, the Dewas affairs attracted the attention of the authorities on account of the serious confusion and intrigues prevailing there. General Sir Henry Daly, the popular A.G.G. who knew C. I. better than any past or present A. G. G., was, it is believed, requested by H. H. Maharajah Jayaji Rao, to bring the intriguers of Dewas to book. Maharajah Jayaji Rao's anxiety about the welfare of this state was natural. After great consideration Sir Henry Daly selected Dewan Tatya Goray C. I. E., one of the ablest men in C. I., for the post of the Superintendent of the Dewas state.

Dewan Bahadur Goray literally fulfilled the very high hopes which Maharajah Jayaji Rao and General Daly entertained about his most difficult task in Dewas, fot it must be remembered that the Dewas of 1873 differed from the Dewas of 1884 as the poles asunder. The elements of mischief in Dewas in 1873 were most active, in 1864 these elements were greatly curbed down—though their total elimination was impossible—by the long and successful administration of Dewan Goray C. I. E. In 1881-82 the Dewas state was free from debt and in sound condition in other respects too. General Daly thanked Dewan Goray for his arduous work and recognised his eminent services by bestowing on him the insignia of the *Order of the Indian Empire* The Maharajah was invested with powers and Dewan Bahadur Goray C. I. E. was appointed Prime Minister, with whose advice and help the Maharajah was to carry on the administration of his state.

The intrigues and plots, already alluded to, were again rampant. The good-natured and generous Prince, His Highness Maharajah Krishna Rao Baba Saheb Powar, was led astray again by the rogues and rascals who still existed in Dewas. The good Prince, whose

only fault is his weakness in paying heed to ill advices, was prevailed upon to write to Sir Lepel Griffn, complaining about Dewan Bahadur Goray. Sir Lepel, however, was not to be imposed upon by such representations; The A. G. G. knew Dewan Goray too well to put faith in such letters. Matters continued in this way for some time. About this time Sir Lepel went home on a long leave, and during his absence the intrigues in Dewas waxed stronger. Dewan Tatya Goray was compelled to lay down the reins of administration, and Pandit Saroop Narayan succeeded Dewan Bahadur Goray. Intriguers are generally profited by rapid changes and a continuity of a sound administration allows them no scope for making their ignoble profits. Pandit Saroop Narayen, an able and well-known officer in C. I., was disgusted with the condition of the Dewas affairs and had to follow in Dewan Tatya Goray's wake. Then came the short-lived administration of Sir Dinkar Rao to suffer a similar fate. It requires a few details to understand how the great Dinkar Rao, then in his 65th year, was persuaded to undertake an uninviting task like the one, he was now embarking upon.

Maharanee Chimnaraja the senior Maharanee

of Maharajah Jayaji Rao always looked upon Dinkar Rao as an elder brother. Thus Dinkar Rao was looked upon as a maternal uncle by Tararaja Saheb, the daughter of Maharanee Chimanaraja Saheb. When Pandit Saroop Narayan became an eyesore to the Ruler of Dewas, His Highness requested Tararaja Saheb to seek the potent aid of Rao Rajah Dinkar Rao in ousting the famous officer Pandit Saroop Narayen from the Dewas Ministership. Tararaja Saheb intended to call in Dewan Tatya Goray again, but in this desire Her Highness failed. Tararaja Saheb therefore made a most pressing solicitation to Sir Dinkar Rao to rid the Dewas State of Pandit Saroop Narayen. Thus the veteran Rao Rajah was compelled, inspite of himself, to yield to the Rani's request.

On receiving the letter of Tararaja Saheb Sir Dinkar Rao left Allahabad for Indore where he arrived in the cold season of 1882 and stayed in the gardens of Kibay Saheb. The writer of these pages fully remembers all that took place at the time as he was at Indore when the Rao Rajah arrived there. Sir Dinkar Rao had several interviews with the Agent-Governor-General. Among the Native gentlemen who waited upon him was Dewan Baha-

dur Tatya Saheb Goray C. I. E., who, with an independence of judgment worthy of him, frankly told the Rao Rajah that unless the elements of mischief and intrigue were suppressed, no amount of mere ability would be of any avail in Dewas. Messrs V. K. Kunte, Ganpat Rao Waman Burway and other gentlemen used to pay visits to Sir Dinkar Rao frequently and once the present writer had also the honour of waiting upon the illustrious Minister of Gwalior, during his stay in Indore. The simplicity of the Minister's life had greatly impressed itself on the mind of every one who visited him then. Sir Dinkar Rao wore a plain Dhotee with a fattoi of green colour. His conversation was worthy of a great man, full of politeness, condescension and a consciousness of great works achieved. In accordance with Sir Dinkar Rao's suggestions, the Maharajah of Dewas was allowed to dispense with the services of Pandit Saroop Narayen C. I. E. Sir Dinkar Rao took the Dewas administration into his own hands and appointed an agent on his behalf to look after the state affairs, while he himself left for Allahabad, whence he sent advices on all important points. His agents referred to him for instructions and orders. Thus the ship

of administration sailed on for some time in spite of the shoals and storms that were more or less looming in the horizon. At last came the grand disagreement. The Maharajah, who had most cordially endorsed the pressing letter sent by Her Highness Tara Raja Saheb to Sir Dinkar Rao in 1883, now began to receive the wise counsels of the Rao Rajah with a frosty unconcern. Sir Dinkar Rao informed Tara Raja Saheb of what was transpiring and expressed his strong desire to wash his hands clean of such an unpleasant and thankless responsibility. Sir Dinkar Rao had himself expected such an end of this undertaking and Dewan Rao Bahadur Goray had frankly predicted it in the presence of Sir Dinkar Rao. But it was Sir Dinkar Rao's sincere affection for his august niece, Tara Raja Saheb, that prevailed upon him in his honoured old age and enfeebled health to interfere in such an affair of doubtful weight. What a wonderful irony of fate it was to see a great man like Dinkar Rao coming out unsuccessful from a petty principality not even equal in area and income to the Ambah Zilla.

Sir Dinkar Rao had saved Gwalior and had been rightly considered as one of the saviours of the British Empire; he

had saved the lives of several high British Officers and ladies; before him A. G. G.s and Lt. Governors used to quail, but the little state of Dewas proved too much for him! What could be the cause of such an unnatural phenomenon? The cause existed in the state itself, and to trace it further would be out of place here. Tara Raja Saheb visited Indore with His Highness Maharjah Krishnarao Powar Baba Saheb in 1885, when the former Dewan Tatya Saheb Goray paid a visit to his master. With tears in her eyes, Tara Raja Saheb expressed to Dewan Tatya Goray the anguish of her heart at the mischief the intriguers had worked by taking advantage of the simple and guileless disposition of the Maharajah Krishnarao Baba Saheb of Dewas. On another occasion Tara Raja Saheb, who ever bore a genuine affection for Dewan Bahadur Goray's family, expressed the same sentiment in a still more pathetic manner. It was Her Highness's strong desire to recall Dewan Goray to Dewas, but the eminent administrator, who had successfully administered four states in Central India—Banda, Chatterpore, Charkari, and Dewas, to the satisfaction of the paramount power and the respective Maharajahs, had died in 1888.

We conclude this by remarking that Sir Dinkar Rao never afterwards paid any attention to requests from this quarter, though the illustrious Minister always continued, to the end of his honoured life, to cherish a warm affection for Raja Saheb, his august niece and the daughter of his master H. H. Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia G. C. S. I., G. C. B., C. I. E. The sad experiences and disastrous results of the past years had exercised a great influence on the mind of H. H. the late Maharajah Krishnarao Baba Saheb Powar, and His Highness never allowed any evil advices to prevail in the State.

Chapter XX.

Gwalior after Maharajah Jayaji Rao's Death.

Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia died in 1886. The news of his Highness's death rent Dinkar Rao's heart. His political rival and opponent, Sir Ganpat Rao Khadkay, had succeeded in persuading the Maharajah to make a will, containing a para to the effect that after His Highness's death, neither Sir Dinkar Rao nor Sir T. Madhav Rao should be appointed to the Premiership at Gwalior. The will further mentioned that the administration should continue in the hands of Sir Ganpat Rao. Now we have no desire to criticise the will in any way.

If the Maharajah wished Sir Ganpat Rao to manage the state after His Highness had departed this life, it ought to be, as it was, acted upon. In these pages we are concerned with ascertaining how Sir Dinkar Rao behaved after the death of his sovereign master. The worthy Dewan survived his august master for about ten years. During this period, the aged

Minister lost no opportunity of impressing upon the mind of Lord Dufferin and Lord Landsdown the fact that Gwalior deserved a special care and attention at the hands of the British Government, and both the Viceroys had assured the eminent statesman that every thing would be done to advance the welfare of the Maharajah of Gwalior—the tried and trusted friend and ally of the British Government. Sir Dinkar Rao had an interview with Lord Dufferin at Lahore in the year 1888, and on that occasion too, the veteran Dewan reminded His Excellency the Viceroy to remember Gwalior. Such was Dinkar Rao's genuine solicitude about the welfare of Jayaji Rao's State. He never came to Gwalior as long as Sir Ganpat Rao was President at the Council, nor did Sir Ganpat Rao, aware of his rival's power, ever tried openly to come in his way. Sir Ganpat Rao Khadkay died in 1888 at the height of his power and influence. Only a few months before this sad event, the Government of India had conferred on him the unique distinction of a personal salute of 11 guns. Sardar Bapu Saheb Jadhav succeeded Khadkay Saheb as President of the Council. In 1889 Sir Dinkar Rao paid a visit to Gwalior with a sorrowful heart. After remaining there

a few days, during which he waited upon the Maharajah and the Maharani, he left for Allahabad. The last appearance of Sir Dinkar Rao in Gwalior was in the December of 1894, when H. H. Madho Rao Saheb Scindia was invested with powers of administering the State. Sir Dinkar Rao was given a special seat of honour in the grand Durbar held on that auspicious occasion. He felt rejoiced beyond measure at seeing H. H. Madho Rao Maharajah invested with power and is said to have expressed the joy of his heart in these words: "Happy do I feel at seeing my young master, the son of Maharajah Jayaji Rao, in such a position and able to administer his state. God bless His Highness." Sir Dinkar Rao did certainly feel as if he had reaped the golden fruit of being favoured by Providence with such a long life, which was now slowly nearing its end. The Pioneer, the most influential Anglo-Indian paper in India, duly described the presence of of Sir Dinkar Rao on this auspicious occasion.

Chapter XXI.

The Close of the Career.

Sir Dinkar Rao's presence at Gwalior on the occasion of the Maharajah's investiture with powers of administration may be looked upon as the acme of the veteran statesman's earthly exultation; for we know the great man cherished a sincere desire to see his august master's son and successor putting on the kingly harness. Every other earthly desire too was in his case more than gratified. There is perhaps no man in the whole of India—from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin—who could surpass Sir Dinkar Rao's good luck, his strict ways of living, his irreproachable and spotless moral conduct and his boundless charity. We may go a little further and say that there is no Indian statesman who was fortunate enough to live up to such an advanced age as 77—an age to which only a few British statesmen reach. Sir Salar Jung died prematurely, Sir T. Madho Rao was gathered to the majority at 64. Ranga

Charloo left this world before reaching the usual limit of age assigned to Premiers of India by the Fates. But the saintly life of Dinkar Rao was an exception to the general rule; and the saintly way in which he lived throughout his life conduced perhaps to such an unusual longevity.

The writer of these pages had the opportunity of waiting upon this great Dewan in the January of 1894 and it appeared then to him that the beginning of the end of that glorious career was approaching. Though weakened greatly in constitution, Sir Dinkar Rao's face and features still shone with that lustre which, in his youthful age, dazzled the beholders and extorted reverence even from the most irreverent and cynical persons. There was, round this great man's face, a halo of light, which could only be seen amongst the purest and holiest of (men and women) persons, for verily Dinkar Rao's was a life decidedly purest from the moral as well as from the political point of view. But of this we shall speak hereafter in a more appropriate way.

There is a noteworthy anecdote about Sir Dinkar Rao's having a prescience of the time of his final Dissolution. We read of such a

prescience in the life of Sir Walter Scott and in that of Professor Rehatsek of our own times. In India at least many other similar instances may be cited; but in every such instance the persons, of whom such anecdotes are known, are generally those who have something more than earthly about them. Sir Dinkar Rao had well-nigh foretold when his end would come and his prophecy was literally true. We say this not with the slavish object of deifying the hero of this narrative but on the strength of the most authentic proofs about this fact. In fact we shall have liked to say much more on this point, but the taste of modern readers prevents our dwelling further on this topic, which perchance may not find favour with them.

Sir Dinkar Rao died peacefully at Allahabad on the 2nd January 1896, his thoughts rivetted on the lotus-feet of Shree Rama. The long period ranging between 1859-96 was spent in such a manner as to ensure, by the service of the Supreme Being, a happy death and a happier life in the world beyond grave. Free from care, free from anxiety, free from fear, and his life's work completely accomplished, the veteran Premier passed

away quietly from a world in which he had long ago ceased to take any active interest, after having achieved a success in life which no lapse of time could obscure or obliterate.

Chapter XXII.

Character and Position of Dinkar Rao.

So ended Dinkar Rao's earthly career. To say the truth, he was a man of the next world even before he had shuffled off the mortal coil. He was the last of that illustrious trio, which has been so prominently identified with having saved the British Empire in India. Maharajah Sir Jang Bahadur G. C. S. I., G. C. B., and Nawab Sir Salar Jang G. C. S. I., had long ago joined the majority under circumstances not altogether peaceful. Of the three greatest Indian Statesmen of modern times, Dinkar Rao alone enjoyed the privilege of dying a peaceful death on the banks of the Ganges. Alone and unfriended and surrounded on all sides with grave difficulties, Dinkar Rao carved out a career for himself, which was certainly uncommonly successful. The times, in which this great statesman lived and laboured, were times of which we can only form an imaginary picture. These golden times were indeed greatly instrumental in bringing to

the fore-front the good qualities of head and heart which a Native possessed. In Gwalior in Dinkar Rao's times, a man of his type was almost conspicuous by his absence. No doubt there were men like Ram Rao Baji and Baba Saheb Apte, but they had, with all their ability, no aptitude for bringing a whole state under order and discipline. In fact a strong man with a good head was a great desideratum and the Government of India, disgusted with the frequent outbreaks of hostilities and other concomitant evils, were more than eager to find out a man who could prevent the possibility of such recurrent bloodshed and tumult. In 1852 the hour and the man arrived. Gwalior happily was rid of these periodically returning dangers to peace, prosperity and progress. Dinkar Rao's uncommon industry and irreproachable honesty of which we have already spoken in detail, were the main causes of his coming to the top of the service and we must here frankly lay down that Sir Richmond Shakespeare's appreciative power and penetrating and farseeing genius deserves as well to be spoken of in the highest terms in this connection. Had Sir Richmond not possessed the courage of his convictions, perchance Dinkar Rao would have remained in the back-ground.

The situation of affairs in Gwalior badly wanted a strong, able and upright Hindu gentleman, and Sir Richmond, in spite of all odds, had the fortitude to put Dinkar Rao forward, seeing the amount of good he had done in the District of Ambah.

Dinkar Rao's public conduct was spotless; his private life was saintly. We have made every endeavour to test the private life of this great man and we are able to say that even his worst opponents—political rivals—could not even distinctly refer to any moral aberrations on his part. In the times in which he lived, a Premier could keep a number of mistresses without spoiling his name and position. One at least of the Dewan could afford to die of sensual excess. Living in such times, this great man kept himself aloof from any such taint, and his friends as well as his foes equally applauded his uncommon moral purity.

His one prominent political weakness—the only weakness which we have been able to find in him as a public man—was his introduction of Urdu as a language of the Courts in Gwalior. This was really a great hindrance to the growth of the Marathi language in a Mahratta State. Perhaps there might have

been reasons which necessitated the then introduction of this language, but the reasons could not have been very powerful. Urdu has been a source of great many troubles and inconveniences and at one time it was also seriously thought of to substitute Hindi for Urdu. In one branch of the administration—the Land Record Department, it is happy to find that Colonel Pitcher has given great encouragement to Hindi. H. H Maharajah Madho Rao Scindia has taken up the subject seriously and a happy result is sure to follow.

Sir Dinkar Rao was a man who heartily loved reticence. His lofty gravity was never marred by a free use of the organ of speech. But his words always carried a meaning with them. In fact his reticence had become proverbial. But his speech was always charming, animated, full of meaning and gravity. A low joke or an unworthy word never came out of his lips. He was possessed of exceedingly polished, courtly and dignified manners. His very appearance showed that he was a man not belonging to the ordinary run of humanity. He always carried with him that justifiable and truly becoming sense of his august position, and his striking personality always commanded awe and reverence. His

intolerable eye inspired terror even in the minds of men of irreverent spirits.

He was strong and handsome in person. His face beamed with intelligence. His strictly saint-like morals prevented his constitution from being a prey to those untold illnesses which undermine the most robust physique. His eyes were full of fire and his large nose was, according to Hindu notions, the symbol of good luck and future greatness. He was not frequently photographed. Yet there are two or three very good portraits. The one, we saw, was at the Agra College; it is a group photograph. Sir Dinkar Rao was to the right of Lord Ripon and the photograph is a faithful likeness of the Dewan. The other, we saw, is in the possession of his son, Rao Rajah Raghunath Rao. But this other one shows the Dewan in his prime of life. The Agra College Photo is exactly the faithful portrait of the statesman in his old age.

Sir Dinkar Rao was not of a gay mood. He was never convivial in his manners. His saintly morals, his unruffled gravity, his reticence—all these traits in his character barred jovial temperament. Perhaps a result of all these circumstances was that he never made many friends in his private capacity. But

political friends he had many. Such friendship was forced upon him, often in spite of himself. To the limited number of his private friends as well as to his innumerable political friends, he was faithful and sincerely attached. Amongst his private friends may be mentioned the Hon'ble Mr. Mandlik, the Rao Saheb Bhuskute of Burhanpore, the Kibays of Indore, Mr. Apte and many others. Once formed, his friendship was never lost. The descendants of his friends had as much claim on his kindness recognised as their ancestors. His family affections were exceedingly warm; but they never transgressed the due limits, nor admitted of the object of his affection being spoiled by an over doze of that commodity. His younger brother Gangadhar Rao alias Nana Saheb rose to distinction and fortune through the Minister's influence and patronage. Bhuskute's Jahageer too was freed from danger by Sir Dinkar Rao's intercession. Several other relations were entirely dependent on his patronage. The Kibays of Indore had in him a ready helper and he tried much to avert their downfall. Dinkar Rao's charity and rewards have grown into proverbs in Upper India. Few men of his time gave away money in

charity or rewards as liberally as this Minister did. His heart ever melted into pity at the sight ef misery or poverty. No call of humanity was perhaps ever unheeded. To the Hindu beggars and Moslem Fakirs his chariry was alike extended. The ubiquitous Police sepoys, doing duty on the public roads, got at least something for a mere Salam and folding of the hands, while a Railway Station staff remembered the Rao Rajah's visit with more gratitude and satisfaction than that of a mighty Maharajah or a powerful Prince. The holy cities, haunts of Hindu sacerdotalism, blessed the "Rajah" for his boundless charities in these places, while the over-corpulent Chobays from Mathura declared, with real mirth dancing in their eyes, that they never had a more hearty dinner in their lives except when they were treated to a feast by the Rao Rajah." Go anywhere in Mathura, Benaras, Allahabad, Agra, Cawnpore, or other holy places in Hindustan and you will hear this Rao Rajah praised more sincerely than any other Prince by the Brahmins and other priestly classes of the respective places for his unstinted religious gifts. The calculating tendencies of modern days may scoff at this—in their eyes a useless waste of money, but every one must be judged

by the standard of his own age and not by that of ours. Dinkar Rao, who was a Hindu of the Hindus, would have treated all such critics with that grand indifference which they deserve at the hands of all pious Hindus of the old school. These calculators in India are like a drop in the ocean of humanity and it will be long before their views have any wide-spread influence upon the surging tide of Indian popular opinion.

Dinkar Rao wielded a boundless influence with the Government of India and the Native Princes. There were only two other Premiers, Maharajah Jung Bahadur and Sir Salar Jang, who enjoyed such a position, along with Sir Dinkar Rao. But even to these two great men Sir Dinkar Rao was superior in one respect at least. In intellectual attainments and administrative ability, Dinkar Rao outshone Maharajah Jang Bahadur and Sir Salar Jang, though of course in all other respects, these three greatest Native Premiers were equal. This view of ours is supported by a high Indian officer, Sir R. Temple, who had the privilege of knowing all these three eminent men. Sometimes there is an attempt to make a comparison between Dinkar Rao and Sir T. Madhav Rao, but such a comparison

is certainly out of place. Sir T. Madhav Rao, though certainly a great man, does not belong to the level on which, by a universal consensus of opinion, Dinkar Rao, Jang Bahadur and Salar Jang are placed. There might not be, as certainly there was not, a difference of position and influence, due to causes presently to be briefly mentioned, which obviate all attempts at placing Sir T. Madhav Rao side by side with any one of that eminent trio, which is worthy of a serious study by the student of Indian Political History.

The illustrious trio enjoyed a position and influence—the result of peculiar circumstances which occur occasionally during the life-time of a nation—which not even the highest English official in India, much less a Native, can possibly possess in these days. The Mutiny would be ever looked upon as a critical period in the history of the British Indian Empire. These three native Premiers, taking all the circumstances into view, had resolved on upholding the British power in India. There are Englishmen still living, from whose important works it would be plainly seen that but for the potent aid of these three Premiers, the British power, which trembled in the balance in 1857, would certainly have suffered

irretrievably.* The splendid valour of Clyde and Strathnairne, bereft of the supremely valuable support of these three statesmen especially and of other Princes generally, would have been of little avail. Hence arose the political importance of Jang Bahadur, Dinkar Rao and Salar Jang. The British Government, aware

*Next on the list of Lord Canning's early nominations comes Rajah Dinkar Rao, the far-famed Minister of Scindia, to whose sound advice it was mainly due that the Mahratta country remained faithful in 1857. His genius was devoted to the prosecution of well-laid schemes, having for their object the re-establishment of a strong Mahratta Empire ruled by the Maharajah Scindia; and his intellect had taught him that this end could only be attained through British influence. In Gwalior, his enemies pretended that his counsels were dictated by a selfish policy, and the Mutiny of 1857 still further tended to estrange from him his Master's confidence. His best efforts in an honest cause were thus misinterpreted and frustrated; and, somewhat summarily dismissed from office and the Gwalior court, he threw himself on our protection, and it became a sort of duty to look after him. Rajah Dinkar Rao was a man whose sharp Mahratta face, once seen, could never be forgotten. Slender for a native of his age, and of middle height, his figure, though full of dignity, was not striking; but the acute intelligence of his features shone singularly conspicuous by the side of the mild Bengal Hindoo. The close-fitting turban of his country was well adapted to display, to best advantage, the beauties of a manly head; and though not altogether free from the odious effects of betel-nut so common to his race, his lips and their expression had, strange to say, not suffered; and while his eye was cold and keen as ever, the outline of his mouth reflected energy and intellect of the very highest order."—"The Company and the Crown" by the Hon'ble Mr. T. J. H. Thurlow.

of all this, ever felt a pride in honouring these men and courting their favour and good will. There are stories still current amongst the Native society in Upper India, how the 'Lat Sâheb' would promptly endeavour to please and soothe these great men, if they became displeased and how His Excellency used eagerly to remove the cause of their displeasure by acceding to their wishes. Thus their position and influence was unique—in fact unapproachable not only by a Native but even by some of the highest English officials in India. It was not either intellectual attainments or administrative ability—of which however one at least of them, the hero of this narrative, was duly possessed—which lay at the root of their commanding position in the political world. It was their supreme good luck, which placed them in such situations as to be able to decide the fate of Britain's power in the east. It was with such a consciousness of Rao Rajah Dinkar Rao's exalted position that, Lord Dufferin, so late as the 4th of May 1888, wrote: "I certainly consider the Rajah entitled to all consideration and respect at the hands of the British Government and its officers."

It will therefore be seen from the foregoing

observations that to place Sir T. Madhav Rao side by side with Jung Bahadur, Dinkar Rao or Salár Jang, would be improper, though we take this opportunity to express our highest admiration and respect for Sir T. Madhav Rao as an eminent Administrator of modern times and according to modern notions of administration.

To properly understand Dinkar Rao's position, we must have a complete knowledge of the Mutiny Period in all its details; and to such knowledge which is usually obtained through the works of Kaye, Malleson, Holmes, Low and others, one should try to add that priceless oral information from persons still living in Upper India, without which it is impossible to form an adequate idea of the condition of Indian affairs in that perilous period. Some patriots with a superficial acquaintance with the progress and extent of the Indian Rebellion have sometimes raised a hue and cry about Dinkar Rao's policy ; but such attempts are not to be taken serious notice of in the light of the facts mentioned above.

Dinkar Rao's behaviour was always consistent with his position in life. He never knew how to put up with an insult nor he ever allowed himself to be indebted to others for

trifling matters. We may illustrate this by stating that he built some bungalows for his residence in such places as Khandwa, Cawnpore, Poona, Agra, Allahabad and other places, because opportunities frequently occurred necessitating his presence in those places. Even on such occasions, he was unwilling to stay in any friend's house, though many would have been but too glad to place their splendid bungalows at his disposal. As a result of such a conduct he left a lasting impression of his visit wherever he went. Persons who differed most from him were obliged to recognise with admiration his disinterested spirit and his purity of motive. He seldem accepted presents which have gone a great deal to shroud many eminent names in unworthy suspicion. He could, if he had but wished, have amassed a colossal fortune, but the reader would be astonished to hear that this eminent personage died in debt, though his annual income amounted to £. 8000, and his opportunities of making money were such as had scarcely fallen to the lot of any one of his time in India. We know even ordinary men made splendid fortunes during the troubles of 1857-58. We have, therefore, admired the unselfishness of this great man who

could have become the richest man in India, if his inclinations had but lain that way.

Chapter XXIII.

His son and successor.

Rao Rajah Raghunath Rao is the only son of Sir Dinkar Rao. He is ordinarily known in Gwalior society by the familiar name of Raghunath Rao Bhaiya. The term Bhaiya being a suffix usually applied to the names of all young men of noble and respectable families in Central India. Rajah Raghunath Rao has received an excellent English education under that accomplished scholar, Principal Deighten of Agra College, whose annotated editions of Shakespeare have greatly familiarised the immortal poetical works of that great poet to the Indian people. He is now forty-nine years of age being born in the troublous times of 1858. The writer of these pages is in a position to speak and write a great deal, and in very high terms too, about this nobleman; for few persons know better the sterling worth and the noble qualities of head and heart of this gentleman. Rajah Raghunath Rao Bhaiya and Prince Balvant Rao

Bhaiya may be described as two of the most sensible men in Gwalior. In administrative capacity, Raghunath Rao Bhaiya excels many of the leading Sardars of Gwalior.

His Highness Maharajah Jayaji Rao had ever been very kind to Raghunath Rao, whom H. H. had appointed for some time as Private Secretary. Raghunath Rao was some time Soobha of Gird Gwalior and afterwards of Ambah and then on special duty in connection with the auditing and examining of State Accounts for several past years. At one time it was universally believed that Raghunath Rao Bhaiya who stood very high in the late Maharajah's estimation, would eclipse all courtiers and take the place occupied by his illustrious father. But the death of Maharajah Jayaji Rao has, more or less, frustrated these legitimate expectations. H. H. Maharajah Madhav Rao Scindia might probably appreciate this Sardar's ability and good sense, as His Highness has great regard for him.

The Council of Regency formed in 1886, with Rao Rajah Sir Ganpat Rao Khadkay as its President, excluded both Prince Balvant Rao Bhaiya and Raghunath Rao Bhaiya. It is somewhat of a mystery to find two such able men excluded from the Council of Regency

in which more or less incompetent men without any claims found an entrance. But let bygones be bygones.

The Government of India strongly recommended Raghunath Rao Bhiya for some position suitable to his ability and attainments. He was, therefore, requested by the President Sir Bapu Saheb Jadhav to accept the Soobhat of Ambah, a position he continued to hold for some time. After the death of Sir Dinkar Rao, Raghunath Rao succeeded to the honours and Jahageers granted to his family in perpetuity. Thereupon he resigned the Ambah Soobhat. In the late famine, he was appointed a Commissioner to supervise the famine Relief Works.

Rajah Raghunath Rao Bhaiya Saheb stands in the good books of His Highness Madhav Rao Maharajah Scindia. He is every inch a gentleman and possesses very high opinions of several eminent officials of the Government of India. During his visit to Bombay in 1896 he made a good impression on the minds of all men he came across. He has two sons, one of whom viz. Ganpat Rao received his education in the Maharajah's College at Gwalior. Nana Saheb, the eldest son of Raghunath Rao, is Deputy Director in the L. R. D.

The title of Rao Rajah, which Sir Dinkar Rao had received, was made hereditary by Lord Ripon in 1884. This family enjoys a Jahageer yielding about £8,000, a year. Other honours, which Premier noblemen receive in Native States, are conferred on this family in perpetuity.

In 1901, Raghunath Rao was appointed by H. H. Maharajah Madho Rao to a seat in the Revenue Board of the Gwalior state, where his knowledge and experience of revenue affairs were certainly expected to be productive of good results.

To the Delhi Durbar of 1903, Raghunath Rao Dinkar accompanied his sovereign and master, H. H. Maharajah Scindia, a circumstance worthy of note, as his illustrious father was conspicuous in the Delhi Assemblage of 1877.

In the March of 1903, Colonel Sir Michael Filose,* the illustrious statesman of Gwalior, took 8 months' leave. Rajah Raghunath Rao had been selected by H. H. Maharajah Scindia to occupy this most responsible post of Chief Secretary of the state during the absence

* A considerable portion of the present Dominions of Gwalior was conquered by the illustrious General John Baptiste Filose, the ancestor of Colonel Sir Michael Filose. No Officer of H. H.

of Sir Michael Filose, who had proceeded to England in company with his son Mr. A. F. Filose, Barrister-at-Law. Sir Dinkar Rao's admirers must naturally wish a happy career to Raghunath Rao under his sovereign H. H. Maharajah Madhao Rao Saheb Scindia, G. C. S. I., G. C. V. O.

Maharajah Madhao Rao Saheb Scindia has been so long and so honourably connected with the Gwalior Administration as Sir Michael Filose, who has, during his fifty years' official career, won for himself a very high reputation for purity, benevolence and ability. Persons of every creed, caste or colour unanimously join in praising this veteran statesman's regime and his real integrity.

The late Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia had full confidence in Sir Michael Filose, and the present Ruler of Gwalior entertains the same high opinion about him. In my "History of Gwalior" I have fully shown how the illustrious Filose family have faithfully served the Gwalior Raj and what eminent services are rendered to the state by the noble-minded Sir Michael Filose.

APPENDIX A.

A few extracts from the works of eminent English authors would show what was the height of Sir Dinkar Rao's position, how commanding was his influence and reputation, and how lofty was the estimate of his life-work:—

(1). "That the Delhi Assemblage impressed the people as it was meant to impress them there were many striking proofs. Lord Lytton told the Queen that Scindia's Minister, Sir Dinkar Rao, remarked to a Member of the Government of India: "If any man wanted to understand why it was that the English are, and must necessarily remain, the Masters of India, he need only go up to the Flag staff Tower and look upon the marvellous Camp below. Let him notice the method, the order, the cleanliness, the discipline, the perfection of its whole organization, and he will recognize in it at once the epitome of every title to command and govern which one race can possess over others."—Lady Betty Balfour's Life of Lord Lytton.

(2). "The administration of the country (Gwalior state) is far superior to that of the other states of India. This superiority and the able government for the last few years are due to the first Minister Sir Dinkar Rao, a man of great capacity, to whom the country was entrusted during the minority of the Prince. It was he who prevented the young Maharajah from joining in the Revolt of 1857; and thus he not only preserved Scindia's independence but also saved the cause of the English; for, had Scindia chosen, he could have raised the whole of Rajawara, from Bombay to the Jumna. As a reward for these services Dinkar Rao was knighted by the Queen"—"Rousselet's India and its Native Princes," edited by Colonel Buckle.

(3). "It was the reverend Dr. Duff who introduced me to your father, who was in Calcutta when I landed in March 1857. We afterwards met in Duff's house in Cornwallis Square, where I was staying and it was then that your father, without assigning any reason, advised me eschew Sepoy Army, and apply to join a Company's European Regiment. Duff and others had given me just the opposite advice, and no doubt nothing induced your father to say to me what he did, save his

prescient knowledge of the awful storm that was coming. Dinkar Rao was in Calcutta at the time with Scindia, and him also I became acquainted with through Duff. I remember still the expression of Dinkar Rao's face, on my telling him one day in Duff's presence that your father had dissuaded me from becoming a sepoy-officer. Luckily for me, I took the advice; and immediately on my being posted to the Fourth Bengal Native Infantry applied for the transfer to a European Regiment. Humanly Speaking, this saved my life. I was at Benaras at the time. Had I set out for Kangra where the 4th Bengal Native Infantry then was, I would have formed one of a party of travelling "griffs" who were ruthlessly murdered while halting in a travellers' bungalow near Delhi." Sir H. M. Durand's life by his son Sir Mortimer Durand.

(4). Speech of H. E. Lord Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, in the Durbar at Agra :

To Rao Rajah Dinkar Rao Raghunath, Dewan and First Minister of H. H. Maharajah Scindia, His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the following words:—

"Dewan Dinkar Rao,—with the concurrence

of your Sovereign and Master, the Maharajah of Gwalior, I take this opportunity of testifying the appreciation by the Government of India of the services which you have rendered to His Highness and to the Paramount Power. You will receive a confiscated estate in, or near to, the Benares Division free of revenue in perpetuity and yielding a rental of 5000 Rs. a year. I believe that seldom has a Ruler been served in troublous times by a more faithful, fearless, or able Minister than yourself."

There is a great deal that is good in Scindia, and I think had he been fairly handled in youth, the man would now be worthy of his position; his ability developed wonderfully between 1854 and 1858, showing that the stuff was in him. It was Sir Dinkar Rao's calm wisdom which saved Gwalior, but undoubtedly Scindia deserves much for being capable of being saved by *one* man, when all else were for rebellion... The prosperity of the state is due entirely to the settlements made by Dinkar Rao. It was he who carved out the paths, which, though now covered with briars, are still paths for use. *No body knows all this better than the Maharajah himself.*" General Sir Henry Daly, March 18, 1867.

(5). The following extract from the "Company and the Crown" may be of interest to our readers. After mentioning Sir Dinkar Rao's services to the Empire, Hon'ble Mr. Thurlow says:

"All comment on the above quotation is unnecessary; but it should be known by those who take an interest in Indian affairs what rewards the gratitude of England has meted out to this exemplary native statesman; and we think that most who read these pages will admit that these rewards compare somewhat strangely, and not much to the credit of our discernment, with the imperial extravagance of, for instance, the Mysore grant, by which a yearly income of £40,000 was secured in perpetuity to the already wealthy sons and grandchildren of a low-born usurper and oppressor of a peaceful people.

The magnanimity of the Company towards the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh does not rank in our opinion, as a case in point, for he was the representative of Runjeet Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, who gathered together by his force of character ten millions of the scattered tribes, once ruled by Tamerlane; and it should be remembered that nearest to the heart of every Hindoostanee proper in the appreciation

of hereditary honours, and the continuance of an historic name. Now Dinkar Rao was illustrious by descent; and when it is considered that, with the exception of some unimportant complimentary prefix, the only rank conferred upon him was that of Honourable, as a member of the Viceroy's council, and that the only solid token of our good will he has received is a small confiscated estate in the neighbourhood not of his home in Gwalior, but of Beneras in the Bengal, worth £ 500 per annum, on which, as a crowning proof of our generosity, some trifling taxes are remitted. One cannot help contrasting his services and their reward with those of white men, military and civilian, on whom pensions and estates have been showered in such profusion."

(6). One of Sir Dinkar Rao's letters written to an eminent Englishman in the December of 1865 is worthy of perusal. We give it *in extenso* below:

"The present general condition of affairs, combined with my thirty years' exertions, induce me to prefer devotion to the Almighty in seclusion to anything else. Still it affords me pleasure to give now this general abstract of my own opinion about the administration of India. The affection of the subjects and

attention to the prejudices of the people, regarding which the Queen of England spoke in her gracious Proclamation, the preservation of custom, appointment of selected and experienced officers, fixed laws and regulations, are essential to the well-being of a people. It must also be borne in mind that the system of constantly imposing or abolishing different taxes in order to maintain receipts and disbursements within a condition of equilibrium is not generally acceptable in India. It is a custom in almost all our native governments to leave sufficient balance from the income of one year to supply any probable excess of expenditure in the next; some such scheme is necessary to ensure the happiness of the Eastern subjects of the English crown. These unhappy subjects are at a long distance from the throne, and are of a different disposition, possess different prejudices, different habits and customs, and live within the influence of a different climate. The true principle of all good government consists in the affection of the subjects and the preservation of good faith. Since the Mutiny of 1857 many appear to think that it is difficult to gain the affection of the subjects; but I do not agree with them, because the subjects here

are poorer than anywere else. Their poverty and affection is self-evident from the fact that so vast a continent as India has come so speedily and easily beneath the rule of British Government. You say that the attention of the great statesmen in England is directed towards the real improvement of India; but you should bear in mind that it is but of little use to repair the upper storey of a building, the foundation of which has been damaged. After the Mutiny, when my friends and I suffered many difficulties which will never be forgotten, Lord Canning had the opportunity to bring the whole of the British India under the non-regulation system, and thereupon depend the fortunes of the subject."

(7).* The following extract from General Sir Henry Daly's private letters would still further shed a light on this point :—

"It is a pretty thing to talk of 'a well-governed Native State.' Where is this to be found? In those States, small and dependent, which, but for our support, would be swallowed up—with them is much that suits the Native tastes. British ideas worked by themselves. Wherever this is the case you will find prosperity and population. This should have been the case here with Scindia ; but we wrecked our-

selves and Dinkar Rao, and so left Scindia with his own temper to guide him.....Good is to be attained by personal influence only; for few indeed are they who value principles. *There is but one Dinkar Rao.* If it should happen that he be restored to position here,—and stranger things have happened, Scindia would find immense relief and happiness, the country would rise in glee, even now, as Dinkar Rao passes through towns and hamlets, all run out with clasped hands to bless him for his settlements, and that it is to which Scindia owes the order now existing despite the laches. *The more I see of Dinkar Rao the more I esteem his rare purity.* What a Governor of a Province he would make? Calmly wise, honestly good. That man should be an Indian Councillor nobly paid. So should we recognise ability and service. We are beginning at the wrong end of the stick."

(8).* "We have distributed Dinkar Rao's rules of Government as much as possible amongst the states of Central India and with excellent effect. Our system, carried out by a well-trained Chief or a Minister like Dinkar

* These extracts have been borrowed from the "Memoirs of General Sir Henry Daly, G. C. B., C. I. E." by Major H. Daly, C. S. I., C. I. E.

Rao, would realise Edwarde's notion of a perfect Government in a new country that Sir Henry Lawrence should go through the land amongst the people saying what was to be done, and leave Sir John to do it."

(9). "My conscience is clear in this matter, and I hand over the Foreign Secretary's post with the satisfactory feeling that the thinking men like Dinkar Rao and others of the same stamp, deprecate a weak exercise of the supremacy of the crown, and look to a firm and just exercise of the sovereign functions of the British Government as the only safeguard for the prolonged existence of Native states incorporated in our dominions. Sir R. Palmer's and Sir Charles Wood's speeches I read with pleasure. They are timely, and will do good, and my friend Sir Dinkar Rao spoke before he had seen them." Extract from Sir Mortimer Durand's "Life of Major-General Sir Henry Durand."

(10). A writer in the Quarterly Review of April, 1878, quotes a remark made by Rajah Sir T. Madhav Rao to the same effect:—"If left to themselves, they will wipe themselves out" Persons, acquainted with the affairs of native states, cannot help coming to this conclusion, though ardent well-wishers of the

Native Rulers. The reader will be pained to understand that though in British India the march of civilisation is slowly going forward, yet the Native States possess almost a state of darkness excepting of course a few only. Small wonder then that Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao and Rajah Sir Madhav Rao expressed their views in the above-mentioned strain. Who is responsible for the bad administration or, to put things plainly, for no settled administration at all in the Native states of India? This is a question which covers a wider field and may better be discussed independently rather than in this place.

(11). Vide Dinkar Rao's emphatic and repeated warning to the Government not to interfere with the Hucks of the people. He defines Hucks, or rights, as "Rights of property in land or an office or employment, or any right in the largest sense of the English word." It has been said by two or three of our greatest living Anglo-Indian statesmen, that they had learnt more of India from Dinkar Rao's conversation than they ever knew before. I think most Englishmen who could see Dinkar Rao's "Memorandum on Indian Administration" would say as much of that—"Dhar not Restored" by John Dickinson, P. 7.

Sir Dinkar Rao was always a free, fair and fearless critic and it is a pleasure to find an eminent English writer endorsing the noble views of that great statesman in an ungrudging spirit.

(12). The Hon'ble Raja Dinkar Rao Raghunath Muntazim Bahadur, for many years Dewan of the Gwalior State, and subsequently a member of the Governor General's Legislative Council, has requested me to place on record, in the offices of the Agent Governor-General for Central India and the Gwalior Political Agency, for the information of the British Officers who may hereafter fill those situations, my opinion regarding him and his services to the British Government, as well as his own Chief and State, in the hope that he and his heirs may thereby be assured of the aid and support of those officers hereafter, and of their friendly advice to the Gwalior Government in his and their behalf, if such should appear to be at any time called for. Raja Dinkar Rao possesses a Memorandum from the late Sir R. Shakespeare, of date February, 1860, written with the same object, and of which a copy is appended hereto.

With such a testimony to his great services

and high character, and with the lamented Canning's public address to him at the *Darbar*, held at Agra on the 29th November, 1859, quoted therein, and which is recorded in the public archives of the Government of India, it would appear to be superfluous for me to add anything further on the subject; but, as the Hon'ble Raja desires this of me, I can have no hesitation in stating that I fully concur in, and can endorse every word of, the late Sir R. Shakespeare's Memorandum, and that it is simply impossible in my opinion, to do adequate justice to Raja Dinkar Rao's services and admirable character in such a document.

His administrative ability and thorough knowledge of the people generally of the Gwalior State (including his own class, which filled most of the offices of the Government, and the various tribes and clans making up the two millions odd, subject to the rule of Maharaja Scindia), and of the measures and policy which were best suited to their requirements, and the real interests of the State and its Chief, sided by his singular acquaintance with, and just appreciation of, the merits and defects of the system of British administration, enabled him from the date of his assumption

of the Dewanship to introduce improvements, order and organization in every branch and department of the State, and in a wonderfully brief time, under the circumstances, to establish a government such as had never before existed, in the territories of his Master, and which gave promise, if maintained in the spirit and on the principles on which it was conceived, to make the Gwalior State the first of native kingdoms. In all this the Hon'ble Raja had much to contend with, for his measures were necessarily opposed to the traditional policy of the governing classes of the country, and to the interests of the many influential persons who had fattened on the abuses they were especially intended to abolish; but his tact, calm temper and good judgment, aided by the example of unimpeachable integrity he set to all around him, enabled him to effect what to those acquainted with the circumstances of the State might well have appeared hopeless.

The people of the country were relieved from a system of oppression and misrule which had made some districts, as Tawarghar, a prey to the most lawless disorder, in which the Durbar possessed no real authority but such as was exercised under the guns of a large

military force; and the revenue was periodically collected at the point of the bayonet; and others, as Esaughar, which had formerly been prosperous and flourishing, in many parts a desert and abandoned by its impoverished and ruined inhabitants; and a general feeling of contentment and satisfaction, and of love and respect for the Minister who had so changed their condition, prevailed amongst all classes.

To this feeling the safety of Maharaja Scindia and his government, during the troubles of 1857, may assuredly be fairly and justly ascribed.

The people generally, instead of taking advantage of the disruption of authority consequent on the mutiny and rebellion of the British native troops (including the local Contingents), on whose presence the peace of the territories of Central India had previously principally depended, and who were openly sympathised with by all and actively aided by many of the troops and armed police of the Native States, remained obedient to the local officials, and the presence at the capital of a large number of them, hastily collected and summoned by the Minister for the purpose, enabled Maharajah Scindia to overawe his

own disaffected troops, and to withstand the otherwise overpowering force of the Gwalior Contingent, which, confident of the full support of the Gwalior Army and of many influential people in the Lushkur and about the Chief, for upwards of three eventful months, endeavoured to cajole or compel His Highness to comply with their objects and demands.

The triumphant manner in which Scindia emerged from these difficulties was, thus viewed by the light of former times, the best proof of the wisdom of the measures of administration previously adopted by the Minister.

Throughout the trying events of 1857-58, Rajah Dinkar Rao's devotion and services to his Master were beyond all praise. He was in truth, the impersonation in his own territory of loyalty to his Chief, and of order amidst the wild anarchy then raging and which threatened to sweep away all before it; and his attachment for, and friendly good feeling towards, the British Government and its Officers, when the power of that Government was for a time at its lowest point of depression, can never be forgotten by those who experienced or benefited thereby, or were acquainted therewith.

With the complete suppression of the Mutiny, and amidst the changes in the administration of the Gwalior State which followed, the position of the Minister unavoidably became greatly altered.

The Maharajah desired to direct the Government himself, and to retain the business of administration wholly in his own hands; and after a time Raja Dinkar Rao withdrew, not without grief and disappointment, from the laborious post he had filled for eight years with immeasurable benefit to his Chief and the State, and with lasting credit and honour to himself.

In truth, his work for the time was done and it was but fitting that he should take some repose from the wearying fatigues of the business and struggles, incidental to the high position he had held for so long a period.

He was not, however, suffered to remain unnoticed, for, on the establishment of the Governor-General's Legislative Council in 1861, he was amongst the first Members selected to sit therein as Representative of the native community of the Empire.

His services and usefulness in the lofty and novel sphere to which he was thus transferred,

were such as might have been expected from his previous career and character, and are well known to have been much appreciated by the Viceroy of India.

At the date at which I am writing, the Hon'ble Rajah's term of service in the Council having expired, he is unemployed and living in retirement and there appears to be at present no prospect of his return to the business of public life in a fitting position.

It is a subject of the deepest regret to me that the services of one so experienced and gifted, by far and in every respect the ablest native administrator I have ever met, should be thus lost to the public, but there seems to be no help therefore at present.

Whatever the future may be, in this respect, in store for the Hon'ble Rajah Dinkar Rao, the time will sooner or later come when, if spared, he will re-occupy a public post suited to his great talents and high character. I have the fullest confidence he must, for the present, console himself with the proud and gratifying conviction that, as remarked by Sir R. Shakespeare in the annexure, he is respected and beloved by the rich and poor of his own country, in which his name will long be known as *par excellence* "the Dewan," and

that he enjoys the high consideration of the British Government, and the esteem and regard of such of its Officers as have had the pleasure of knowing him either privately or officially.

INDORE RESIDENCY.
1*st April* 1865.

(Sd.) R. J. MEADE.
Agent Governor-General for Central India.

(true copy).

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT. SIMLA.
28*th August*, 1884.

(Sd.) M. H. DURAND.
Under-Secretary to the Government of India.

(13). Daly had been for several years personally known to Maharajah Jayaji Rao and his work in Western Malwa had brought him into constant communication with the officials of the Gwalior Durbar. He had also learnt to appreciate the work and character of that great statesman, Dinkar Rao (Raja Sir Dinkar Rao, K.C.S.I.), who had been Scindia's Minister during the Mutiny. "Dinkar Rao," wrote Daly, "is the one Native whose purity nobody of any creed or colour questions; all mention his name with deference, even reverence."

(14). "The Government of India considered that it was desirable to obtain the assist-

ance of the Natives of India of high rank and position as members of the Commission. Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao was summoned to Calcutta and he consented to serve."—Lord Northbrook's minute dated 29th April 1875.

APPENDIX B.

The Baroda Commission was an event of very great political importance. It created an unusual interest throughout the Indian communities, and the name of the hero of this narrative is indissolubly connected with it. Some extracts are therefore given below to enable our readers to grasp the matter more effectively.

(*a*) Opinion of H. H. Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia, G. C. B., G. C. S. I.

As to the attempt at poisoning, from the whole case as it came before me, as far as my judgment and belief go, I am not convinced that the charge is proved against Malhar Rao. There appears to me no sufficient proof of the purchase of diamond, arsenic or copper, or of any document, signed by the Gaekwar, for the payment of money for the above purposes but Damodarpant's statement. Nor indeed is there any paper whatsoever, signed by the Gaekwar involving him in this matter.

Out of a large number of persons connected with this case, only three witnesses,—Raoji,

Narsu and Damodar Pant,—have given their evidence in reference to the above charge. All these widely differ in their statements; the reasons are given in the proceedings. How could they be considered trustworthy? The evidence of Pedro, the butler and Abdulla, and the non-production of Salam, Yeshvant Rao, Khanvelkar, Gajjaba, Nuruddin Borah, and the Hakim, are in favour of the accused. Further, it is far from my belief, that the measures for poisoning should have continued so long a time and in so open a manner.

Such an act is performed by one or two confidentials, and not by such a large number of people.

Now, when a small quantity of poison, once administered, could put an end to a man's life, there appears to be no reason why it was given and drunk so repeatedly. I see no grounds to reject the chief arguments of the able gentleman Sergeant Ballantyne. It is a fact worthy of consideration that Malhar Rao made no hesitation whatsoever, in handing over Salam and Yeshwantrao at once to Sir Lewis Pelly, and expressed his desire to give him every assistance in his power. As regards the communication with servants, night

and day, this is no matter of importance. These visits, and requests for presents on marriage and other festive occasions, and the means to secure the favour of the Resident as well as the procuring of information regarding each other, are matters in accordance with the practice of other Native Princes and persons who have connection with the Residency.

In conclusion, I remark that the chief points for enquiry are—

1st—Attempt to poison.

2d—Tampering with the servants.

My opinion on the above subjects I place before you.

Bombay,
27th March 1875.

Vernacular signature of H. H. the Maharajah of Gwalior.

(*b*). Opinion of H. H. Maharajah Ramsing of Jeypore G. C. S. I.

After carefully considering the nature of the evidence placed before the Commission in regard to the offences imputed against H. H. Malhar Rao Gaekwar of Baroda, I have the following remarks to submit. The statements made by Amina Ayah and several other Residency servants establish the fact

that sums of money had actually been given to the Ayah and to other servants of the Residency at different times, by order of H. H. the Gaekwar. These sums of money, however, do not appear to have been given out of any motives to tamper with the Residency servants for improper purposes, but simply as presents from the Gaekwar, and such as are generally given on occasions of marriage and national festivals.

With regard to the graver charge against the Gaekwar, Raoji Havildar states that he put poison into Colonel Phayre's tumbler of sherbet, as the Gaekwar had instigated him to do, and that a packet of poison had been handed over to him by Narsu. Narsu says he had received the packet from Salam, the Gaekwar's sowar and that he made it over to Raoji Havildar. On the other hand, Damodar Pant, the Gaekwar's so-called Private Secretary, states that the Maharajah had ordered him to procure arsenic and diamonds, and that he had directions from His Highness to give the arsenic to Salam and the diamonds to Yeshwant Rao, the Gaekwar's Jasud. Salam and Yeshwant Rao, who, according to Damodar Pant's statement, are to be regarded as the connecting links between himself and Narsu

in the above affair, were not produced before the Commission and there is no means of ascertaining whether they made any statements before the Bombay Police. Further there is no evidence as to their having conveyed packets of poison from Damodar Pant to Narsu excepting the bare assertions of the two accomplices—Damodar Pant and Narsu.

Damodar Pant's statement, as to his having procured arsenic and diamonds, is not confirmed by any corroborative evidence. He says the diamonds were procured through Nanaji Vithal, Darogah of the Gaekwar's jewel deptt. Nanaji, it is stated, purchased them from Hemchand Fatechand, the Jewellers; but Hemchand declared before the Commission that diamonds were not purchased of him, though he had submitted some for inspection. These, he says, were returned to him by Nanaji. Atmaram, who is a Karkoon in the Gaekwar's State jewel-room, also stated before the Commission that the diamonds tendered by Hemchand were not approved, and therefore returned to him.

Nurudin Borah, from whom arsenic is said to have been procured, was not brought before the Commission. It was however admitted by Akbar Ali of the Bombay Police in the

course of his cross-examination by Sergeant Ballantyne that the Borah was kept in confinement. It is therefore to be inferred that the Borah was far from confirming Damodar Pant's statement with regard to the purchase of arsenic.

The several yads, or official memoranda, produced before the Commission out of the records of the Private office under Damodar Pant, do not show any specific sums of money having been paid for diamonds, or for poison of any kind. The sums mentioned in the yads were for giving feasts to Brahmins and charitable and useful purposes. There is sufficient evidence also to prove that these sums were actually spent in such purposes.

Damodar Pant also mentions a bottle containing some poisonous liquid, prepared of "large ants, snakes, and the urine of a black horse". This poisonous liquid, according to Damodar Pant's statements, was prepared by a Hakim, and sent to Damodar Pant's house through one Gajaba, a servant of Khanvelkar, the Maharajah's brother-in-law. Neither the Hakim nor Gajaba was placed in the witness-box, so it is unknown what these men had to say. It appears from the above circumstances that there is hardly any statement of Damodar

Pant with regard to purchase of poisons that has any ground to stand upon, except Damodar Pant's own evidence.

Copper is also mentioned as having been one of the poisonous ingredients put into Colonel Phayre's sherbet, but no clue whatever can be obtained as to who introduced it into the tumbler of sherbet, nor it is detected by the analysis of Dr. Seward Gray.

The three witnesses, Damodar Pant, Raoji, and Narsu, whose testimony is considered to form the basis of this grave charge against the Gaekwar, are accomplices, and their evidence is not corroborated by a single respectable witness nor is their evidence altogether free from suspicion of false-hood. Moreover, two of these accomplices made their statements under promise of pardon. In consideration of all these circumstances, I know not what degree of importance to attach to their evidence.

No documentary evidence, or evidence of a convincing nature, was forthcoming from Damodar Pant, notwithstanding his position as Private Secretary to the Gaekwar, and the command he had over the records of the Maharajah's private office.

Raoji and Narsu, the other two accomplices,

who state they had direct intercourse with the Maharajah, and they were asked by His Highness to poison Col. Phayre, contradict each other in some important points. For instance, Raoji states that the Gaekwar had promised to give him, as well as to Narsu, a lac of Rupees each, for poisoning Colonel Phayre Narsu, on the other hand, expresses utter ignorance of any such promise having been made by the Gaekwar. Another important statement of Raoji is strongly contradicted by Pedro. Raoji states that packets of poison were given to Pedro and others by the Maharajah; and, while Pedro denies stoutly what Raoji alleges, no clue can be obtained as to who the others were.

Besides the above circumstances, the facts elicited by Sergeant Ballantyne in the course of the cross-examination of the witnesses, as well as the features of the evidence pointed out by that gentleman, are, in my estimation, weighty and deserving of consideration.

For the reasons stated above, I cannot persuade myself to believe that the Gaekwar was in any way implicated in the charge, notwithstanding the fact of poison having been found in Colonel Phayre's tumbler of sherbat, and the uncorroborated evidence of

the three accomplices—Raoji, Narsu and Damodar Pant.

Bombay 27th March 1875. (Sd.) RAMSING,

(C) Opinion of Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao, K. C. S. I.

As to the attempt at poisoning, from the whole case as it came before me, I am not convinced, as far as my judgment and belief go, that the charge is proved against Maharajah Malhar Rao. No proof of the purchase of diamonds, arsenic or copper or of the preparations of the poisons, no use of money (even of a rupee) in regard thereto, and no document in the hand-writing of the Maharajah or other papers about the poisons, although his Private Secretary, Damodar Pant, became against him. Out of a large number of persons connected with the case, only three witnesses *viz.*, Raoji, Narsu and Damodar Pant have given their evidence in reference to the above charge. All these three differ in their statements. Damodar Pant's statement is disproved by the evidence of Hemchand and Atmaram as to the purchase of diamonds. He stated that he had not opened the packets to see the diamonds and arsenic. Damodar's name is not mentioned either by Raoji or

Narsu. It is stated by Damodar Pant himself that he made his statement owing to the trouble he suffered from his having remained in the custody of European soldiers for sixteen days, his object being to get himself rid by making statements of some kind. The statements of Raoji and Colonel Phayre differ with regard to the putting in of the poison on the alleged dates. Raoji states that he got the bottle from the Maharajah, while Damodar states that he gave it to Salam. Again Raoji says that he put the packets into his belt, while Damodar deposes that in order to burn the packets, Salam ran to Raoji's house, where Raoji also followed. Raoji further says that the Maharajah gave the packets to "Pedro, me and others." Pedro has entirely denied to have received any packets. Who and how many men were the "others"? Raoji states that the Maharajah promised to pay a lac of rupees each, while, Narsu denies this. From Raoji's statement it appears that he got the bottle about a month and a half before the 9th of November, whereas, from what Narsu has stated, it seems that the bottle was got only a few days before that date. Narsu says "all the other servants caused Faizu's name to be written down in the depositions, and I

did the same, though I knew it to be false." The three witnesses having become against their Master, and two of them having been granted a pardon, how could their statements be considered to be trustworthy? The evidence of Pedro, the butler, and Abdulla, the sherbet-maker (the Residency servants), and the non-production of Salam, Yeshwant Rao Khanwelkar, Gajaba, Nurudin Borah and the Hakim are in favour of the accused. Further, it is far from belief that the measures for poisoning should have continued for a long time, and in so open a manner. Such an act is done by one or two confidentials, and not by a multitude, and when a small quantity of poison, if once administered, would put an end to a man's life, there appears to be no reason why it was given and drunk so repeatedly. These, with other particulars, are developed in the proceedings, and the chief arguments of the able gentleman, Serjeant Ballantyne, are deserving of consideration. As regards the communication with servants at night or day, it is not an important matter. Their visits and requests for presents on festive marriage occasions &c. and the means used to secure the favour of the Resident, as well as the procuring of informations regarding each other (the

Prince and the President), are matters in accordance with the practice of the other Native Princes and persons, who have connection with the Residency.

In conclusion, I beg to submit that the chief points for enquiry being the attempt at poisoning and communication with servants I have expressed my opinion on them as above.

BOMBAY (Sd.) DINKAR RAO.
26th March, 1875.

(d) "The Government of India, after some time had elapsed, became dissatisfied with the manner in which Colonel Phayre, the British Resident at Baroda, carried out the instructions which were given to him, and arrangements were therefore made, in the beginning of November last, to replace him by Sir Lewis Pelly, an officer of the highest rank in the Political service, in whom the Government placed the fullest confidence." Para, 5, of the minute by His Excellency the Viceroy (Lord Northbrook), dated 29th April, 1875.

(e) "Sir Richard Meade's Commission did not recommend Mulhar Rao's deposition, neither did the Government of Bombay, through whom their report was brought under

the consideration of the Government of India. The evidence was not considered by the Government of India to be sufficient in itself to justify the adoption of so extreme a measure."

Lord Northbrook's Minute, 29th April 1875.

APPENDIX C.

Sir Dinkar Rao was occasionally a bold critic of men and measures. An instance of this was supplied during his visit to Indore, when taking up the administration of Dewas, S. B. Dinkar Rao was staying in Kibay Saheb's Garden in 1882. The "Bukshis" affair formed the subject of discussion one evening and Sir Dinkar Rao expressed himself exactly in the same way in which Mr. George Aberigh Mackay, the late lamented Principal of the Indore Daly College and General Sir Montague Gerard, K. C. B., K. C. S. I. have done.

Mr. Aberigh Mackay, in his "Twenty-one days" in India says :

"The red Chuprasi is ubiquitous...he is to the entire population of India the exponent of British rule; he is the mother-in-law of liars, the high priest of extortioners, and the Receiver-General of bribes...We ourselves could conduct corruption decently; but to be responsible for corruption over which we exercise no control is to lose the credit of a good name and the profits of a bad one."

On this subject, General Sir Montague Gerard makes the following pertinent observations in his book entitled "Leaves from the Diaries of a soldier and sportsman."

"One head Chuprasi at the Indore Residency, whose pay was ten rupees a month, was currently reported to have bought in house property in the Sadar Bazar, in one year, for between thirty and forty thousand rupees. It is said that tent-pitchers refuse to drive a single peg into the ground until they receive their dustoor, which was generally believed to be five rupees each. Any how, I remember a junior Native officer, on one occasion, bringing me up eight gold Mohurs (£12) which he said had been sent to him by the Rajah as the dusturi and asking what he was to do with it. What the head Munshis and other clerks received who really had influence to help the donor, goodness only knows." Sir Montague Gerard, K.C.S.I., K.C.B. 1903.

Sir Dinkar Rao's criticism almost tallied with the observations made by General Gerard and Mr. Aberigh Mackay. In some respects it was more trenchant than the above-mentioned remarks. More on this subject is unnecessary.

APPENDIX D.

In March, 1862, Sir Dinkar Rao published his "Memorandum of observations on the Administration of India." It contains his views on forty-six subjects and it was written for the Viceroy's perusal and consideration. Some extracts would be interesting to the reader, as the great Dewan has expressed his opinions freely and fairly on every subject treated in the Memorandum, the object of which was to "point out where attention was due on the part of the Government of India to improve the resources and the administration of the country." Sir Dinkar Rao further expresses his reasons for presenting the Memorandum to the Viceroy as follows: "Now I will give an abstract of my opinions. No one should think that I am partial, because I advocate the cause of the people only. The effects of having a contented population are always good. It is proper, therefore, for Legislators to bear in mind the principle of improving the relations and increasing affection between the governors and the governed.

Contented subjects are indispensably required for the general maintenance of peace; they are the cause of economy in military expenditure, and of general stability of government. To every government the foundations of security are two-fold: 1st the strength of the army; 2nd the contentment of the subjects. Both these are essential.....As the Almighty has given the Kingdom of Hindustan to the English so they ought to take into consideration the wishes of the Indian people".

It was in 1863 that the Hon'ble Mr. Mandlik, the Tribune of the Indian people, began his career. It would thus be seen that the "Memorandum of observations," published in 1862, was a year before the beginning of the patriotic regime of the first batch of Indian patriots, because Mr. Mandlik was certainly the ornament of Indian patriotism. Taking this circumstance into view and considering at the same time that in the early sixties education had not made so much progress in India as it has done now, it must be freely and fearlessly repeated here that Sir Dinkar Rao's views do credit to him and his reputation for mastery of administrative details. Some of the observations are so boldly brought [redacted]tion of the Viceroy that they

would be worthy of admiration for all time to come. Every one must be judged by the standard of the age in which he flourished. Sir Dinkar Rao belonged to the age when Indian patriotism had not come into existence and the idea of nationality was unknown. Yet the veteran statesman wrote in a way as would be entitled to applause. Most admirable are his views regarding the general disarming of the Indian people and the wholesale disregard of position, character and services of the individual who was subjected to the Arms Act. About taxes he wrote much that must be interesting. His views about the hereditary rights, Zamindari Hucks and the Codes of Laws are sound. Sir Dinkar Rao disliked the tendency of making any income from the sale of stamps required for civil suits. He freely advocated the Panchayat system. He recommended the increase of the period of limitation in civil suits. He strongly deprecated the "Beggar" system resorted to, when troops are on march from one place to another. It is worthy of note that even in 1862, he had been able to see that Calcutta was not a suitable place for being the Capital of the Indian Empire. It would be better to refer the reader to the Memorandum for further details.

to say it would repay a p[redacted]
vations of a statesman who [redacted]
early fifties, when schools and co[redacted]
exist and yet who had such a grasp[redacted]
nistrative functions.

In short, we believe the "Memorandu[redacted]
observations" are entitled to an influential place in the political literature of India as the production of a person, who flourished in the pre-mutiny period of the Indian History and exerted a conspicuous influence on the course of political events in all parts of Central India.

MEMORANDUM.

The Memorandum discusses the following 46 items :—

1. On the Administration of the Native Princes of Hindoostan.
2. Description of the British Administration.
3. Hucks or Rights.
4. On all Grants and Endowments.
5. On Taxes and duties.
6. About Arms.
7. About not selling the Zamindaree Hucks.
8. The Village settlements with Pateels (Village headmen) and preservation of Hucks.
9. About giving powers of Deputy Collectors to Tuhseeldars for hearing cases of disputes between Farmers and Zamindars.
10. About not altering Laws.
11. About the new Councils.

12. About not selling Hucks by Civil Courts.
13. On Punchayet.
14. About the Punchayet of Caste.
15. Abolition of Stamp Papers.
16. Of increasing the term of limitation to suits.
17. About Pleaders.
18. Appeal on the decision made in Small Cause Courts.
19. About not giving compulsory orders for Registry.
20. On Affidavits and Oaths.
21. About prisoners.
22. About releasing certain prisoners on payment of fine.
23. Magistrates should not send all the parties with cases to Judges.
24. About Witnesses.
25. On the system of restoring stolen property.
26. About the new Police settlements.
27. The Penal Code.
28. On not punishing all offences by whipping.

29. About arrangements of taking water from wells, &c., in cities and towns.
30. Arrangements for sweepers, &c., sitting in rail carriages.
31. About rules for not killing animals, particularly those which are held sacred by the people of Hindoostan.
32. About not taking forcibly carts and food for camels.
33. Injury to houses, &c., from making straight roads.
34. About the managements of schools.
35. Scholars should first learn business in Offices.
36. Giving Honorary Civil powers to Native gentlemen.
37. About hereditary service.
38. Seat of Government.
39. About Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners.
40. On frequent changes of Officers in one District.
41. About reducing the business of writing.
42. About writing in the Deonagree character.

43. About Europeans who buy land in India.

44. About Officers going to Native ceremonies.

45. About continuing the old system of charity.

46. Description of the Regulations of the Gwalior Government.

SOME OF THE OPINIONS ABOUT THIS WORK.

"I have read the work through with interest".

(Sd.) C. S. BAYLEY, C. S. I.,
LATE A. G. G. IN C. I. AND
now Resident at Hyderabad.

"The work is creditable to the author."

(Sd.) NANAK CHAND, C. I. E.,
Minister, Indore State.

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